DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 085 098 PS 006 985

AUTHOR	Dittmann, Laura L.
TITLE	Children in Head Start 1970-1971: Supplemental Report for Office of Child Development.
INSTITUTION	Maryland Univ., College Park. Coll. of Education.
SPONS AGENCY	Office of Child Development (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
REPORT NO	OCD-H-3928A-H-O
PUB DATE	[72]
NOTE	85p.; ED 069 354 is the general report entitled: "Case Studies of Children in Head Start Planned Variation, 1970-1971," and PS 006 982 is the general report entitled: "Case Studies of Children in Head Start Planned Variation, 1971-1972"
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS	Achievement; *Case Studies; Disadvantaged Youth; Family Influence; *Interpersonal Relationship; *Observation; Parent Child Relationship; Peer Relationship; *Preschool Children; Self Concept; *Student Behavior
IDENTIFIERS	*Project Head Start

ABSTRACT

This report, a supplement to the more general report entitled "Case Studies of Children in Head Start Planned Variation 1970-71," presents brief accounts of the experiences and life styles of 20 children in Head Start classrooms. The narratives are based on material gathered by observers from the Institute for Child Study as a part of the evaluation of Planned Variation in Head Start. A total of ten different Head Start program models is represented. Each child's description includes classroom behavior, health, self concept, adjustment problems, adult and peer interactions, academic achievement, and gains from the Head Start program. (SET)

ED 085098

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CHILDREN IN HEAD START

1970-1971

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT

FOR

OFFICE OF CHILD DEVELOPMENT

Submitted by

Laura L. Dittmann

PS 006985

Grant, GB-SMOA
No. H-3928-A/H/O

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CHILDREN IN HEAD START
1970-1971

Brief accounts of the experiences and life styles of twenty children in Head Start are presented in this publication. The narratives are based on material gathered in the year 1970-71, in three visits, by observers from the Institute for Child Study, University of Maryland, as part of the evaluation of Planned Variation in Head Start. This report is a supplement to the more general report entitled: *Case Studies of Children in Head Start Planned Variation 1970-71.*

The children are drawn from classrooms all over the country. White, Black, Indian, and Mexican-American children are depicted. Diversity is also present in the techniques and goals of the programs; ten different models, or Planned Variations, are represented. Yet two strong unifying themes emerge. For one, the parents clearly value this opportunity for their children and care deeply about their futures. Despite their poverty and the burdens they carry, they see that the children get to school. Often as not, the observers comment on how neat and clean they are, with shined shoes, laundered - if hand-me-down clothing, hairbows that match, and attention to details. In some instances the parents use harsh and inappropriately severe methods of child rearing, shocking to the reader and probably destructive to the children, but they are used by the parents in the hope that the children will amount to something.

A second theme appears in the Head Start classrooms themselves. While there are good days and bad days, in general the programs offered to the children provide a wholesome emphasis on good food and snacks, intellectual stimulation and diversity, outdoor play, and a precious ration of pleasure in sharing each other's company, adults and children together.

Observations were made of about fifty children, Of these, twenty were selected as most complete and representative. Even so, not all contain as much information as one would like; children were absent and parents not available for interviews. Wherever possible, the following questions have guided the narratives:

1. How does the child see and feel about himself and the world he is experiencing? (Concept of Self, Concept of World.)

2. How does the world - his parents, his teachers and his classmates - see and feel about the child?

3. What developmental tasks does this child appear to be working on?

4. How would you characterize the child's "style" as he works on these tasks?

5. What adjustment problems does this child seem to face which make it difficult for him to accomplish his developmental tasks and meet the program's expectations and demands?

6. What seem to be the child's assets in terms of experience, background, personal relationships, interests, aptitudes and skills?

7. What has Head Start done to help this child accomplish his developmental tasks and develop a positive concept of self and of the world?

8. What more could be done to help this particular child accomplish his developmental tasks and develop positive concepts of himself and of his world?

Appreciation is expressed to Dr. Lois-Ellin Datta, Acting Director of Research, Office of Child Development, and to her associate, Dr. Thelma Zener. We are indebted to Dr. Jenny Klein, Director of Education, for her continued support of this mode of evaluating the program. Credit is due also to the observers from whose records these narrative summaries were drawn. They are Matti Feldman, Charles Flatter, Joan Gildemeister, Harry Green, Joan Hunt, Garry McDaniels, Darryl Summers, Bonnie Tyler, and Nellie Urbach.

Appreciation must also be given to the parents who talked so willingly about their children and their dreams for them. Because of them, and their children, this task of poring over records has become a rare privilege.

Laura L. Dittmann

CHILDREN IN HEAD START
1970-1971

Considerations of interest and variety governed the arrangement of these narrative summaries. For the most part, pairs of children come from a single classroom. All persons have been given pseudonyms.

Sam	George
Mary	Tracy
Melvin	Robbie
Nancy	Belle
Dan	Toby
Charlotte	Annie
James	Robert
Candy	Becky
Joseph	Perri
Marie	Cindy

THE CASE OF SAM

Birth Date: January 29, 1966

Sam's world must be a rather incoherent blending of scoldings, whippings, spankings, indulgences, and pain. It is hard to believe that he can make any sense out of his experiences, yet he plugs away at matching pictures, saying such words as "basketball" after the teacher, sounding out letters, and performing other tasks of the classroom. His only support seems to be his thumb, which goes into his mouth after he responds correctly to the teacher's question, whenever there is a lull in activity, and after he is scolded or corrected by an adult. Admittedly, this drives his mother "nuts."

In much of his activity, he is guarded about revealing his feelings. For example, he and the observer look at the drawings he has made with magic markers, and he shows no expression, neither liked nor disliked them. He shows little emotion other than the desire to be included, as he tries his first finger paint:

> Sam wasn't in the first group of finger painters. He stood in the middle of the room with his thumb in his mouth looking very rejected. About two thirds of the class is already painting, but he wasn't chosen for the first group as he had not sat quietly when he was supposed to. When he does get to finger paint, he is quite neutral about it - as though going through a necessary ritual.

Possibly some of his woodenness comes from a lack of confidence in what will happen next. And some may come from lack of experience:

> At lunch, Sam spilled his milk. He didn't seem upset - just sat and looked at it. The observer was sitting at the table with him and suggested that he go get some paper towels. He hesitated, as though uncertain about how to do that, then hurried off to the rest room. He came back with a handful of towels and spread them on the spilled milk, then put the wet towels in the wastebasket. There was still milk on the floor, so Sam went to the rest room for more towels, and followed the same procedure in cleaning up.

As with Mary, a child in this same Head Start group, his mother fiercely loves her children, and cherishes aspirations for them - doubtless unattainable - yet she uses child rearing techniques which blunt the child and render him oddly dependent and at the same time unyielding.

She brings him to school. When she sits down at a table, Sam goes to her and puts his hand on her shoulder, then holds on to her skirt for several minutes. As long as she stays, he seldom moves away from her, always going back to stand by her, hold on to her, etc. After she leaves, however, he becomes very aggressive. When a line forms and Sam isn't in it, he would run to the front of the line and push into the first position. No child resisted when this occurred. Throughout the day, he pushes and shoves, except at lesson time when he attends carefully, and tries hard to get the right answers.

Next day his mother again brings him into the classroom. He wanders away from her and she shouts crossly: "You get up here to teacher." "Sam, you get over here and get your name tag." "You get in your seat." "Get your thumb out of your mouth." "Now we're gonna have none of this - you'll have your privileges taken away." Sam walks up to his mother and mutters something which cannot be understood. Mother said, "Get back there."

When she leaves, she says: "You'd better be good, do you hear?" "Don't run." As soon as she is out the door, Sam starts running around the room with another boy.

At home, Sam gets his rations of spankings. His mother sees him as a very stubborn child. "The psychiatrist said that he was born stubborn so will always be that way. I whip him and don't let him watch TV." Later she confides that the doctor overheard her talk about spanking Sam - "he told me not to spank him so much."

"The doctor said I should put him on more punishments." To her, spanking was not a punishment, punishment was taking something away, putting him in his room, and so on. "But," she added, "You need to spank a child to let them know you're boss. Punishment? Take away something, no trips. But that's like being mean - will hate parents. My mother took away Christmas from us and I really hated her."

In spite of herself, though, the mother reproduces the behavior which made her so desperate as a child. "I tell them they won't get anything for Christmas. Santa's not coming if they're bad. Or the Easter Bunny's not coming. A truck delivered their Easter clothes and I told them they were for me - they weren't gonna get anything cuz they'd been bad. On Easter morning I told them to put on their old clothes for church, and they cried. Then I got out their new things. They live in a world of fantasy."

Fantasy or no, she brings reality in, too. She expects her children (a boy of 6, a girl of 3, and Sam) to take over duties at home, and sees that they are punished if they fail. Sam empties the wastebaskets and ash trays, and so on. The children take their own baths, dress themselves, bring their dirty clothes to the washer, put the wash and wear right where it's supposed to go. The mother sleeps til 11 on Saturday, and they take care of themselves.

As a matter of fact, she herself was responsible for tasks as a child. There were four in her family, and her mother taught the children to take care of the family. "At six I was paying bills for my mother, ordering groceries, running errands. Now at 26, I'm still doing this for my mother."

She continues: "I'm stern with them, but I play with them too. I take my kids to a Drive-In movie on Friday, out to dinner on Saturday, to church on Sunday, and sometimes to the Drive-In again. I buy them books, coloring books, toys to keep them occupied. I always have a Halloween party for them so they won't have to do tricks or treats.

I go to night school, so we all sit around the table at night to do our work. I tell them, you gotta have brains to be like those men on TV, gotta study and work. Sam is gonna be a doctor. I'm very proud of them."

Obviously, the intensity of her involvement with the children creates a very strong tie. She has goals which may be necessary for them, too. For one, she insists that they have to learn to think for themselves. She recounts the story of a time when they ate some pills she had thrown out, lured by the neighbor girl to eat them. She rushed them to the doctor's office and beat them right there in the doctor's office. The doctor told her not to, but she replied that she had to teach them not to do what other people told them to do - gotta think for themselves. "I know it hurt to have their stomachs pumped, but I whipped them too. Then when I got them home, I whipped them again."

She also recalls when Sam set a mattress afire with matches, when he was about a year old. "Boy I really whipped him for that. Once a neighbor called the police because I was whipping them so." As she tells this, it seemed to be a kind of pride that she had been able to whip them this hard - or cared so much.

How does Sam feel about himself?

Sam seems to be learning the hard lesson that he must go it alone. With adults, he tends to be clinging at times, but with other children he hits first, pushes his way into things, and withdraws when it gets too much for him. His mother says he's not afraid of anything, even looking her straight in the eye when she threatens to whip him and says "Okay." With peers, it is the same:

> At free play time, Sam and another boy get in a fight over a long block. Sam holds his own in a "good fight" until the other boy gets hold of the block, and holds it over his head, threatening to hit him. Sam doesn't bat an eye or back up an inch; the other boy backs up and lowers the block.

By the end of the year, his contacts with other children are sometimes friendly, and he seems to seek out the teachers, leaving the play group to stand beside them from time to time. It may be that he is beginning to accept his need for others to a limited extent.

How do others feel about him?

His mother sees him as independent - won't take help. "I love him for that. He doesn't answer back - just goes about his business. He may be mad at me, but he won't argue. He may come up and hit me, when he's real mad at me, but then he goes away and is just mad. He'll pick on the other kids then."

> Sam will be what he wants to be. He's very independent and confident of himself. When he decided to walk, he walked. Before that I pushed and pulled him, but that was no good. If I try to help him, he won't do it.

She sees him as a happy child. Everything's okay with him - he's unconcerned, just plays and likes to horse around. She adds that he is "sweet" - he'll get an aspirin for her if she has a headache, and is very concerned about kids getting hurt. "He's lovable, but unconcerned." (By this it seems that she is suggesting that he *appears* to be indifferent, but really isn't.)

At the beginning, one of his teachers saw him as "indescribable," although she doesn't feel he should be called "bad." She feels that he is stubborn, but that he doesn't bother the other kids. She seems to subscribe to the Mother's notions of spanking him by saying, "He felt like answering today because his mother had spanked him good last night."

Another teacher sees him as rather self-willed and unmanageable, refusing to follow directions in the group. "He likes to get rough with other kids, but he doesn't want them to be rough with him. Yet he likes the other kids." She also feels that he is doing well in class - "You can tell he's getting it."

What is this child working on?

He is reported to love school and he gives attention to the lessons of the day. He does not speak very clearly, in fact, he seems very uncomfortable when called on to recite alone, but he nods and shows real

understanding of the problems posed to him. The structure of the lessons seems to hold him. He is less competent in more open-ended duties:

> Teacher asks Sam to help put spoons on the tables. He pays no attention to what he is doing - puts one spoon on a table, then wanders to another table and places a spoon or two.

He is also learning something of the give and take of social interaction in a setting where the match is more equal. He has been able to be nurturant toward the very helpless. For example, by Spring, he is reported to be crazy about his new baby sister, and will even get up in the night if she cries and plug in the bottle warmer, and then call his mother. Yet with children his own age, he was either aggressive or out of it at the beginning of the year. By spring it seems that he was seen to approach a girl from the rear, put his arms around her neck playfully. The girl laughs. And when a boy sitting next to Sam hits him on the face, Sam says, "Stop it." The boy does.

What is his style?

Often he gives the impression that he is uncertain of himself, and handles this by bluffing, boasting, or putting on an act. Sometimes he handles his insecurity by being the clown, making faces, attracting the attention of his peers. However, he seems to be, for the most part, a stoical child who has no real sense of playfulness or humor.

What adjustment problems does this child face?

His health is apparently not good. It is hard to determine from the mother's description how serious is the problem which causes his temperature to become elevated and convulsions to occur. This has happened two or three times, and he is on phenobarbitol, which the doctor says he should take all his life. His mother finds that it makes him too sleepy, however, so she cut down on it, and hasn't given him any for a month (at the beginning of school). She also mentions a heart condition, and says he has had two kidney operations.

> When I was 2 months pregnant, I fell off a chair and broke his breast bone. The bone sometimes pushes on the tube to his heart. When he runs a temperature he goes into convulsions and has a heart attack. I've had him to doctors in Chicago and here, and in Mississippi.

During this year he had chicken pox, then a high temperature for 3 days, and then had a cold. He was out about a month with a hernia operation. And the mother reports that he must return to the hospital for another hernia operation.

Aside from these very real physical concerns, Sam faces a fairly bleak future with his Mother's insatiable demands on her son. She has very definite ideas about how he should be handled, and exerts a great deal of control over him. It is very important to her that he achieve in school, and that he conform to the pattern of a well-behaved, well-adjusted child. It seems clear that there will come a break in their relationship, as he gets too big to whip, and cannot accept control on other terms.

Assets?

While one criticizes the Mother for her harshness, she does remain a stable and deeply caring person in his life, determined to make him independent and to think for himself. Once she remarked about his previous

school, a play group apparently, that she'd get him across B. Avenue and he'd go the rest of the way. "But I'd kind of follow him when he wasn't looking to see that he got there okay."

She prizes education, and seeks it for herself, too. And somehow, on "partial aid," she dresses the children well, and sees that they have outings.

Sam is a strong child, determined and resourceful. By his eager response to the observer, each time she returned, he showed that he could open up rather quickly if given supportive and warm interest from someone.

What has Head Start done for him?

Again, his mother becomes a good spokesman for the program:

> Now he knows how to talk. He used to mumble with his thumb in his mouth. He's grown up and become a boy. He knows how to get along with kids - he tended to be shy, but he's grown up and asks questions. Head Start? I love it. I wish they'd had it for my oldest son. They take time with the kids and explain. They listen to the kids, give them freedom. The only thing I hate is my daughter can't go here. This Center is beautiful.

What more could Head Start do?

The focus of this program is on academic achievement, and Sam gives reinforcement to the teachers as he attends to his lessons, evidencing solid progress. His needs are broader than this, however, and it would seem that both Mother and son need to be given reassurances that they are worthwhile people. The Mother feels strongly that her children must be strong and independent. "Trouble is, if you pet Sam he feels he can get away with anything. Even if his heart was about to fall out of his chest I wouldn't pet him - he might die but I'm not gonna pet him." Somehow, though, this Mother and her children seem desperately to need some petting.

CASE OF MARY

Birthdate: October 30, 1967

Mary is three years old, will not be four until the end of this second month of Head Start, but she has already learned to live by her wits, eager to tackle anything that comes along, and practiced in the art of not letting failure touch her. She comes back swinging, almost anticipating an unfavorable outcome, unable to reveal weakness or dependency. The combination is classic, well-known to all who work with tender young things who have been confronted with a combination of harshness too soon alternated with indulgence according to the needs of a parent who is child-like herself. The combination renders the child nearly uneducable before education, in its formal sense, begins. The Head Start program Mary attends focuses on academic subjects so she is constantly confronted with a right or wrong answer which triggers her reliance on extraneous clues to find safety. At the same time, she cannot reveal that she doesn't know. The outcome is disheartening for the teacher, who sees a child who taunts:

> Arithmetic class: Mary shouts, "Laurie dropped a card." Teacher ignores her, says to a boy, "I like the way you're sitting." Mary says, "Me?" Teacher calls names, tells children to answer big (loudly) when name is called. Each child shouts "Here." When Laurie's name is called she says "Present." All the children laugh. Teacher: "It's not funny." Mary has a big piece of gum in her mouth. She says, "You know who brung me this gum?" Her question is ignored. Teacher: "I'm going to count to 7," which she did. Then the class counted to 7. Mary: "I counted to 8." Teacher: "All count to 7 again." All the children counted to 8 and laughed. Teacher, emphatically (almost angrily) says: "Next time stop at 7." D., with finger in mouth, counts softly to 7. Mary sitting with thumb in her mouth. Teacher tells Mary to count to 7 and stop. Mary counted to 9, laughed. Sucks thumb. Teacher counts to 6, says, "What did I do?" Class, in unison: "You counted to 6." Mary: "Teacher, we gonna go?" Teacher: "L.'s not gonna go if she doesn't quit acting up. Now let's count the balls." Class counts the balls together. Mary joins in.

On the next day, Mary reveals again her inability to reveal to an adult that she doesn't know, relying instead on an age mate, who, unfortunately, is a frail reed as a model to emulate:

> Teacher begins class with the stamp feet and clap hands task. Mary has trouble getting it right by herself. Teacher does the task with her, but Mary still gets it wrong. Mary laughs. Teacher: "Is that funny?" Mary sucks her thumb. Teacher: "Let's say 'basketball." Listen, Now wait till I say 'say it fast' and signal with my hand." Mary responds correctly, but is very uncertain. She looks toward Laurie for help as the teacher asks them to point at different sounds in her book. Now, as Mary answers, it is clear that she's guessing each time. Teacher: "Put your finger on the sss sound." Mary responds incorrectly. To several more questions she guesses at the answers, grinning as she does. As the group recites, Mary watches Laurie for the answer, then says what Laurie says.

When she is confronted with the loss of a real prize, she finally has to give in, and admit that she doesn't know:

> Each child has to tell the teacher a correct sound before he can have take-home work. Teacher: "Only way you can get take-home, Mary is to tell me this sound (sss). A long pause, with teacher looking at Mary. Finally she says, "I don't know." All the other children respond correctly and get take-homes. Mary appears on the verge of tears. Teacher: "Mary, I'll give you a second chance." Shows Mary the

sss, Mary calls it "ah." Teacher works until Mary gives a correct response. The teacher tells her she has done very poorly, but can have the take-home this time.

By the mid-winter visit, Mary is still alternating between valiant efforts to catch up, and catch on, and foiling her teachers by a brassy "you can't hurt me" attitude. The contrast, in one morning, is plain:

Teacher: "Look at new sound." Shows children a in her book. Children repeat sound together. Mary shouts out the a sound, looking at teacher's book quite intently. She answers every question asked by the teacher. S. answers before anyone else. Mary turns and looks at her. Mary sitting on edge of chair, looking intently at the book teacher is using, trying hard to answer the questions. However, the other children usually give the answer before she does. Once she has heard their answers, she then gives it. When teacher asks for the answer to be repeated, Mary shows no hesitancy in responding with the group.

By 11 o'clock that morning, however, we find the teacher asking each child to count to 15.

Mary gets mixed up on her turn and only gets to 10. Tries again, but gets mixed up again. Teacher goes on to next child. Mary has trouble each time she is called on. This doesn't seem to bother her. She doesn't appear embarrassed, but rather shrugs her shoulders (as if to say, "so what?"). She watches the other children as they recite; is quite restless and wiggles a lot.

And given a special responsibility, she muffs it:

Mary is asked to pass out forks, as teachers begin to put out lunch placemats and plates. She runs frantically around the room, placing a fork or two at a table, never completing one before dashing off to another. She seems to be very excited about passing out the silverware. (Her mother has come into the room.) She sees Mary passing out forks—shouts at her telling her the right way to do it. She also shouts angrily at any child she feels is misbehaving, telling him to behave himself. During lunch Mary jumps out of her chair frequently, dashing to the kitchen, or to the silverware bin, or to talk to someone at another table. The teacher usually tells her to get back to her seat.

Child's concept of self:

"I don't like anybody but my own self," asserts Mary, as she companionably works with crayons in the office, alone with the observer. She shouts "yes" loudly when asked if she likes to come to school. "I like to color, I like to go somewhere." She talks excitedly, disjointedly, as she works on her pictures. "Isn't this pretty?" (Yes). "It's very very pretty." Some of her conversation is clear, and can be understood. Some is a kind of jabber which cannot be understood. After a time, she announces, "I'd better get out there before the others go to the swimming pool." (Observer knows of no pool in the area.) It seems as if she herself puts the brakes on this one-to-one encounter, and hastily retreats, putting the colors back into the case, very excitedly, pushing one toward the observer, saying: "You put that one back." She hops off the chair and dashes out of the room.

How others see her:

Her teachers vary in their estimate of this little girl, who is such a master at hiding her real feelings. One sees her as petted and spoiled, who does not do her homework, doesn't pay attention, and laughs at not

doing these things. She breaks into conversation with "Teacher, I want. . ." and becomes aggressive when she doesn't get a "take-home." She wants things to go her way, but will not cry, just sticks her mouth out. Another teacher sees her as giving an answer, but usually wrong, and then laughs about her fooling the teacher. "She gets along well with the kids, is cooperative - really no misbehavior in class."

Her mother sees her as very smart. "Like food, she'll always know specifically what kind it is, beef or pork, etc. She's real smart. She gets mad sometimes, her feelings are easily hurt. If you yell at her she'll cry. "She wasn't frightened when she came to school - I brought her about noon on the first day - I didn't know about it until Mr. Brown came to tell me that Monday morning. I registered and they tested Mary, but she didn't cry and the next day she didn't cry either. She's affectionate with her baby brother, and she'll hug and kiss me. I play with her, but I don't really pet her. It does something to a child - it may spoil her. I just feel better not petting her." Usually I yell at her to make her mind. I don't beat her. I whip her two, maybe three times a week."

"She always cries before she goes to sleep. Even since being a baby, even now. I call her cry baby. I don't want to whip her cuz I don't know why she cries. I say, 'Girl, why you crying?' She won't tell me. She cries at naptime. It must be her birthmark. She don't have no other birthmark anywhere, so I guess crying is hers. But she's never been afraid, even as a baby. She ain't afraid of nothing. She'll go up and talk to strangers.

"Happy? I'd say she was. She laughs all the time. To my idea, she's happy."

What is Mary working on?

Mary had little opportunity to play with other children at home, according to her Mother, but was permitted "to play on the porch with older kids, or go places with me." During the year, Mary began to initiate some friendly gestures toward other children, suggesting that they play together, or approaching one and putting her arm around her, or him. In some instances, Mary would join a large group activity, but this occurred only sporadically, and then is short-lived:

> Mary is playing with several girls on the metal bannister. She shouts, "Me first." However, she gets in third position. When she has slid to the bottom, she runs with several others on the sidewalk away from the corner. A teacher calls them back. Mary is the last to come. She goes to a teacher and hangs on to her skirt. A group of boys start running down the sidewalk. Mary joins them. They all return voluntarily. A few minutes later, Mary is again sliding on bannister with one girl. They take turns sliding down, the girl leaves, and Mary continues sliding by herself.

In addition to working out ways to be "in" with other children, Mary is trying out the limits with adults, too, in ways which seem to show some emotional dependency upon them. She seems willing to ask for a little "petting" from them.

She begins to stand up for her own rights, too, becoming aggressive in controlling the eraser at the blackboard, for example, after asking for chalk from the teacher. And she plays out the role of a female, as she perceives it, and can fantasy a little about the future. She prefers to play with boys, rather than girls, and is aggressive with them, but also quite affectionate in a more "mature" way than the average 4 year old. She talks about boy friends, kissing, getting married, etc. At the mid-winter visit, she was involved in a pulling down pants incident with several boys, during a rest period when the children were on mats. When asked

what she would do when Head Start was over, she tells the observer that she is going to the hospital "to have a baby." To the observer's reply that she probably would do that when she's bigger, she responded, "When I'm bigger I'll beat up people."

In terms of self-care, she was already proficient when she came in as a 3 year old. Her mother reports in the early fall that she can put her clothes on, give herself a bath, comb her own hair (if her Mother would let her), fix herself a sandwich, and make the baby brother a sandwich.

As for the expectations of school, Mary continued to try to win there, too, but with less overall success. Her teachers see her at year's end as needing a great deal of pressure in order to pay attention (she prefers to play), but if pressured too hard, would cry. "She knows we can't hit her here, so she tries to test the limits. Her mother is always hitting her. The mother doesn't care about Mary learning."

Her mother, on the other hand, thinks the best thing Mary learned this year is "how to speak pretty good, learning how to count, learned how to set the table, learned the sounds of different letters. She learned how to pronounce words, like eat–she told me to say "eat-ing" instead of "eatin." Head Start is good. "It's the beginning of school."

What problems does this child face in working toward accomplishment of the program tasks?

Mary's health was good until late winter when she had an ear infection, which caused her to miss 15 days of school. It was misdiagnosed initially, called just a cold by a doctor, but Mary was in such pain that the Mother took her elsewhere and found a deep infection. She was reported to be very brave about it, even to the point of going in to see the doctor by herself.

On a less dramatic level, however, Mary faces a real problem in learning how to admit that she needs help at anything. Her mother always wanted her to "be nice" and puts a good deal of pressure on her to conform and achieve. But Mary is young, and perhaps so concerned about saving face, or psychological safety, that she cannot give much of her attention to the lessons, being preoccupied with staying in there and not being completely left out.

Mary is aware of her Mother's hostility to the men in her life, and seems to be working out ways of managing boys, holding on and rejecting at the same time, and precociously involved in working out male/female relationships. She looks forward to having a baby - but also wants to be big to beat people up.

What are Mary's assets?

Although her progress at school was not rated highly by her teachers, Mary did learn a good many things. Mary continued to give what attention she could to the teacher and to the task at hand. She seemed to exhibit less need to avoid the work, and though she has little confidence in her ability to learn, she does stay with it and makes an effort to give the right answer. She has staying power and stamina. Her preferred mode of handling things that are too much for her is to smile broadly, which in the long run is more apt to work than to pout. She is fearless, to the point of foolhardiness, apparently, but she will need this courage, and with good fortune, she may learn to temper her demands on herself.

What has Head Start done for her?

It appears that Head Start has simply moved up, by a year, her initial failure with the expectations of school. Even so, she loves school, and wants to go even on week-ends, so apparently there is more reinforcement in the situation from the activities, the other children, and perhaps the continued badgering (albeit in her best interests) of the teachers than the record shows.

What more could have been done?

It seems that the program might have been individualized sufficiently that Mary would not always be just behind where she should be. The program might have also interpreted to this anxious, inappropriately zealous mother, how hard the little girl was trying, and given her some encouragement, too. Instead the mother is baffled and confused. She can't understand how Mary can do so good at home (teaching her little brother, etc.) and not be good at school. "She seems to be doing great, but they keep her in the low group. Can't understand how she can tell me all about the take-homes, and still stay in the low group." She admits that she used to whip Mary because she wouldn't answer in class, and the teachers wanted her to respond. The teachers criticized her for dressing Mary so fancy, so the Mother thinks maybe they picked on Mary and put her in a lower class because of this.

THE CASE OF MELVIN

Birthdate: June 21, 1966

> "Good morning, Melvin. Can you say, "Good morning, Miss H?" M. looks at the teacher, but doesn't speak. She says, "You can get a book, Melvin." He gets up slowly, without facially acknowledging the suggestion, and goes directly to the book rack. He looks at the pages of two or three books, selects one and returns to his seat, where he looks at each page, sucking his thumb. He does not look away from the books as the teacher continues the "Good Mornings."

This anecdote describes the restrained and inhibited child, who converses mostly with head nods and an occasional "yes" "no," as he begins the Head Start year.

By spring, the record pictures an outgoing, mischievous boy who has a number of ideas about how things should go.

> Melvin and another boy were working with soap and water in a basin. The boy was turning the beater with his left hand. Melvin stopped, reached over, took hold of the boy's beater and said, "turn it around like this; it goes faster." The other boy did so, and could obviously turn it with much greater ease. Both boys smiled and continued to turn and swish the beaters for 15 minutes. Once when other children came near, Melvin and the other boy used the beaters to throw water on the children nearby. They giggled as they did so. Melvin frequently smiled, talked with animation (but could not be understood by the observer) and went back and forth to the bathroom to get more water in the plastic bottles which they emptied into the pans. Melvin handled the bottle and egg beater with considerable skill and finesse.

The boy who came to school in the fall did not respond when the teacher asked who had green socks on, as she calls the children to breakfast. Finally she asks, "Melvin, are your socks green?" "Yes" is said quietly, and Melvin gets up and wanders around instead of going directly to his chair, sucking his thumb. In the spring, the reacher asks, "Who has blue socks?" Melvin immediately jumped up and points to his socks. He goes directly to a chair, says, "It's me. I was blue" to no one and pours his juice.

His concept of self and the world

This tall and well built boy has used the Head Start year well. He apparently has a workable concept of his small world and its functioning. When a substitute teacher asks where is the electrical plug, he goes quickly to the wall and points out the socket, saying, "It's over here."

He can hunch himself through a group of children and get in the front row without anyone noticing his shift in position. He directs his friends not to sit at a certain table, and arranges for only boys (no girls) to be with him. He can adjust the clamps which hold up the cover on the record player, and knows why a tricycle gets a flat tire ("It gets out of air.")

He can accept direction and suggestion from adults, but takes his time about following through.

The teacher calls: "Will you boys get out of that rocker so that S. can use it as steps?"

Melvin: "No." He continues to rock.
S. tries to move the rocker.
Melvin: "No."

Melvin then jumps off, after a bit more rocking, and turns over the toy so that steps are available. He then leaves this toy and goes to the block corner and joins the boys in stacking blocks.

He also seems to have a clear sense of what the limits are.

The teacher asks for someone to help put peanut butter on bread.

Melvin says immediately, "I will" and puts his puzzle away. He works with another child, and both look at each other and demonstrate their spreading techniques without verbal interaction. Melvin then begins to spread apple butter and says "This tastes awful."

Other child says, "No it doesn't." The other child is moving slowly. Melvin gives her directions, and then proceeds quickly to follow his own directions. Melvin says, "Don't put on too much."

Spreading finished, Melvin goes to a place at a table and pours some juice into his glass and begins to eat. E. grabs Melvin's vitamin pill. Melvin says, "Don't eat that," in a loud but not angry voice.

E pours juice in his glass, all the way to the top edge. Melvin looks and says, "That's too full, E." The breakfast continues.

At another time, when he has been asked to move his blocks because they are in the way of others who are building, he refuses, sits and sucks his thumb for a few minutes, and begins to build again right at the same spot. Others came and went, but his block structure begins to topple over. He threw down a block. whimpered a little, sat on his haunches and sucks his thumb for a long time (6 minutes). Finally he got up, kicked blocks, and sucked his thumb. Then he went over to the teacher, kicking and striking at her, but not quite touching her. After a while, he again began to involve himself in other activities, and ended by kicking down another child's building.

He consistently rules out sitting near girls, even the teacher.

The teacher comes to the table and asks if she can sit down. Melvin puts his hand on the one empty chair next to his and says, "No," in a loud friendly voice. The teacher begs Melvin but he says, "No, we don't want no girls at this table." Melvin looks at the four other boys at the table and smiles.

How others see him

Melvin is apparently well accepted by both the adults and children in his life. The other children apparently take suggestions from him cheerfully, and he does seem to have a good bit of know-how. The teacher accepts his teasing, and there are several notations where she tests him out in a friendly way. On one occasion he chimes in that he went to see his grandmother last night, just as is claimed by another child. Teacher responds, "Oh, you are kidding." Later she asks where his grandmother lives, and he points, "Right down there. Next to our house." He is often asked to help with various chores in the classroom by both teacher and aide.

Developmental Tasks

Melvin has many of the skills which are useful at this age. He can count correctly to 16 (counting the children present), he can tie his shoes, he can handle the record player and knows some of the essentials for its operations.

He is a reasonable child who seems to be able to handle authority without over-conforming or deference.

> The teacher asks the children to sit down so that all can see the pictures in a book. All the children sit down except Melvin. He first looks behind, and since he is beside the teacher, he is standing in front of no one. He remains standing.

On other occasions he has tried out refusing to acquiese to a suggestion, but in time will come around. He seems to be able to refuse or direct others without anger. There is no evidence in the record that this skill is being reinforced, however.

His Style

Melvin seems to be steady and stable, without rigidity. He can over-do the laughter, rolling on the floor with the other children at a mild joke about the wind blowing away a garbage can, he can tease and test out the limits, but withal, he is a reliable citizen who makes decisions for himself and does not shrink from encounter with others.

Considering the picture one gets of an actively engaged little boy, the frequency of notations that he stops to suck his thumb is surprising. Usually the thumb sucking coincides with a brush with some fixed requirement or frustration. At the time he was kicking at the teacher, he sucked his thumb all the while. He resists picking up blocks, but does help until all are on the shelves. Then for a few moments, his thumb went back into his mouth. On another day, the teacher comes over to help with cleaning up, and his thumb goes in. He is directed to sit on the rug for a group session, and does so, with thumb in mouth.

Adjustment Problems

The Head Start setting seems to have provided a climate of safety for him to emerge from his reticence. The record shows that he had attended a program at a "tot lot" for a few weeks prior to Head Start. It is hard to evaluate the meaning of the thumb sucking, but it may show some emotional strain at points when he is detached momentarily, from ongoing activities, or directly involved in an adult directed enterprise (such as clean up time).

Assets

Melvin seems to have a lot going for him. He is large and healthy, and apparently well coordinated in both large and small muscles (can tie his own shoes) and seems to be well oriented in space. There is unusual stability in his family situation, with an employed father in the home and grandparents next door. He seems to have an appropriately broad range of interests, including the use of small wheeled toys, pleasure in books, willingness to participate in preparation of food or other events (arranging water basins on the table for soap and water play), and is a real contributor to the daily program. Melvin has an interpersonal style that attracts

other children and makes him the center of activities. He can become the driver of a wagon without apparent concern on the part of the person whose place he took.

Melvin lives with his father and mother and a 5 year old sister. The father is employed, the mother is at home. There is a good deal of stability, evidently, in the pattern of the adults in his life, and the family has remained at the same address his entire life.

What has Head Start done?

In the course of the year, Melvin has moved from being a child who followed directions carefully, initiated few interpersonal contacts and generally played alone. In settings where there were no clear expectations, he generally sat quietly, sucking his thumb. In the spring he is characterized as a child who:

Volunteers quickly when requests are made directly to him or to the group.
Tells other children where to go and what to do in games (Friendly tone)
Laughs readily at humorous events
Initiates conversations with students and aides.
Demonstrates excellent large and small muscle control.
Assumes "lead" roles in games and tool operation

He seems to have blossomed, during the year. In contrast to the timorous, withdrawn appearance he presented in the beginning of the year, it seems that Melvin has achieved most of the skills which one would hope for him by year's end.

What more should be done?

Melvin seems to be confident and competent in the expectations of this model. One has the feeling, however, the classroom itself did not provide much intellectual challenge to him.

THE CASE OF NANCY

Birthday: June 23, 1966

Because Nancy is most at ease with one thumb in her mouth and one in her navel, her sphere of action is rather severely limited as the school year begins. When one child falls into her, she leans away just enough to break the physical contact. No change in facial expression, no visual contact with the leaner, no verbal comment. Thumb sucking continues. Even at lunch time, normally a moment to bring out some activity, the record shows:

> Lunch was tasted. No vegetables were accepted. The hamburger mixture was accepted and tasted once, the bread and butter was given one bite. She moved about four feet away from the table and remained in the chair, but squirmed in to a variety of positions such as trying to curl up sufficiently to lie sideways in the chair. The aide comes to Nancy and says, "Nancy, you can't eat from that far away." The aide pushes Nancy and chair back to the table. Nancy immediately began sucking her thumb. After a few minutes, Nancy again pushes herself back, away from the other children who are eating. Thumb sucking continues.

This heavy, tall for her age, large-boned child seems weighted down, unable to move. She sits and fumbles with her cereal box, the kind with a pull tab on one corner. Few children use the tab, but all get the box open except Nancy. She sits quietly, slowly pulling at the box. A helping mother asks if anyone needs help. Nancy does not respond or look up. Then the mother says, "Nancy, can I help you?" Nancy says, "Yes," without hesitation. The box is not moved by Nancy, the mother initiates.

Later in the morning, one of her pigtail fastenings comes off, and the hair falls forwards, over her glasses, and remains suspended in the front left of her left eye. Nancy makes no move to remove her hair in the 30 minutes she sits at the table. The helping mother says, "Nancy, would you like me to fix your hair?" Nancy says, "Yes." She does not look at the aide or move her head while the repair was being made.

Her responses are somewhate less deadening by mid-year, she participates when directly told to do so (as in setting the table) or in responding to a direct question about the food she is eating. She does not initiate these activities, however, and for the most part is non-verbal and without change in facial expression.

> By spring, Nancy is opening up a good deal. The record tells of her response to a teacher request:
>
> Miss Henry asks everyone on the rug to pay attention. Nancy looks at her immediately. The teacher says, "We need someone to put apple butter on the toast. Nancy raises her hand immediately, and says, "I will."
>
> As she begins her work she says, "This looks like applesauce." Another child: "This tastes awful." Nancy puts her finger in the container of apple butter, then licks her finger. She says, "This tastes good to me." She tasted the apple butter again, "Yes it does taste good."
>
> Next she turns to a girl nearby and speaks in a low voice (inaudible to the observer). While talking, each child is digging her knife into the small container of apple butter. Two knives get in Nancy's way, to which she responds with a loud "Move." As a girl not assigned to the table approaches the group, Nancy swings her knife filled with apple butter at the interloper and smiles.

How does this child feel about herself and her world?

At the outset, it seems clear that Nancy has very poorly articulated picture of herself, and of others who were perceived possibly at best, as threatening but more apt to disregard her. Her extreme passivity did elicit some helpful responses from the adults. She ignored the other children. She lives with her mother and an aunt, each of the women having two children. Apparently this arrangement is fairly recent, possibly 6 to 9 months ago her mother brought Nancy and her two year old brother to this city. At the time of the initial visit to Head Start, Nancy would scream and fall on the floor sobbing when the mother left the room, but Nancy made no attempts to play with materials or the other children when her mother was present.

At the end of the year, Nancy initiated conversations with both adults and other children, and performed tasks both parallel to and in cooperation with others. She displayed minimal self-help skills at the beginning - would hang up her coat when she came in, would select a book when told to do so, feed herself slowly but neatly, carried most of her dishes to the appropriate trays when finished. In the course of the year she began to defend herself against aggression from other children, seek adult help when necessary and display considerable feeling, falling back into the thumb pattern momentarily only when confronted with a big problem.

> The teacher asks Nancy what she would like to do. She does not respond, but goes to the blocks and begins placing them in a long line. When there is a great crash nearby, the teacher suggests that Nancy move. Nancy says, "No." The leg of another girl prevents Nancy from extending her line of blocks. Nancy says, "Move, Move." The girl pushed her foot through Nancy's line of blocks. Nancy swings her arm at the girl and says, "Don't kick my block." She leaves the area briefly, and when she returns her line has been disturbed. She goes to the aide, pulls her arm and says, "He kicked my blocks." The aide looks, then leaves. Nancy puts one thumb in her mouth, the other in her navel. She quickly turns to another block project and begins adding her blocks, saying "This one goes here." She goes back and forth, getting blocks for the project. E. begins to play with a mobile crane near the project. (This crane has been used in the past to ram block towers.) Nancy grabs the crane and says, "Go away." As E. runs to the teacher to complain, Nancy continues to push the crane farther and farther away, finally under a chair.
>
> Amazingly enough, her line of blocks has remained intact through all the confusion. T. walks across the block area and steps on a few blocks in this line. Nancy swings her arm at T. and says, "You stop that, you tell me you sorry." Another boy's falls down in front of Nancy. Nancy laughs loudly. The boy shoves his hand in front of Nancy's mouth. Nancy slaps playfully at his hand. She moves her head and smiles. She becomes physically animated and pushes into a group block project, then over to another group at a table. She goes to a place where Melvin is working with an egg beater in soap suds. Water splashes on her arm. Nancy jumps back laughing. She gives a playful swat at M., takes an unused egg beater and begins to splash. Everyone laughs together.

How does the world feel about the child?

From the preceding anecdote, with its fairly complex set of interations, both with adults and children, it can be seen that Nancy elicits a fairly wide range of responses from others. She is accepted as a viable person, one whose work is attractive to interfere with, but she is not scapegoated either. Adults no longer automatically assist her, as in the fall when she was helped even to get her hair out of her eyes. She is being treated as a person.

What tasks have engaged her this year?

Apparently, Nancy has been moving in at least four areas. Already noted is her growth in interpersonal behavior, where she can initiate and cooperate with others. She is more task oriented. During the final visit Nancy was seen seeking out activity at times when routines were not clearly defined or when the teacher was working with children other than herself. This was in contrast to earlier visits when, during ambigious moments, she would sit on the rug, suck her thumb or just lie on the floor. In contrast to earlier visits, Nancy also completes tasks. And when she is doing something and is encroached upon by others, she protects her work. Nancy is generally more alert. She looks at items on the bulletin boards, fixes her gaze on objects and generally seems much more aware of her surroundings than was noted in the initial visits. When statements or questions are addressed to her, she responds with fuller sentences than at the beginning of the year. She also seeks advantageous positions so that she can see and hear presentations by the teacher. Finally, she laughs (appropriately) at events and comments that may not be performed in her immediate vicinity.

In marked contrast to earlier visits, Nancy displays emotion. The record shows smiles, laughter, expressions of general pleasure and enthusiasm. (The enthusiasm was entirely new and only seen on the last visit.) Of equal importance, she also expresses anger and frustration. Nancy yells when she pulls on a rope that is stuck under a box and pulls some more -- again, a marked contrast to the initial visits when she would walk away when blocked in an activity.

Style:

Nancy seems to be a self-reliant child who, at the outset, asked for nothing and expected nothing in return. During the year she has reached out, and having been met with responses she can understand, she is winning a place for herself in the group of children. Overall, she remains fairly primitive in her relationships with them, wary of intervention, anticipating rebuff or sabotage, but effective, nonetheless, in her techniques of survival. She is pragmatic, and apparently does not hold a grudge. Perhaps one of the most helpful aspects is her relative persistence and ingenuity in getting around an obstacle. She has shifted, quite dramatically, from a clinging passive dependency to a more appropriate use of adults as instruments of assistance or persons with whom a friendly interaction can take place.

Example: January -

The teacher is sitting near Nancy at lunch. As she finished eating, Nancy rotates in her seat in such a way that she is very near the teacher. She then rolls to her side and leads onto the teacher's lap. Nancy puts her thumb in her mouth.

May -

Nancy is walking down the hall alone, sucking one thumb with the other in her navel. She is walking at some distance from the other children. The teacher says, "Oh, look at those shoes." Nancy walks over to her, puts her arm around the teacher and smiles at her shoes.

Adjustment problems?

Nancy shows some concern about her body, and may need to face a more serious problem. One day she was worried about her mouth - saying to the teacher: "Look at my teeth." The teacher reassures her

that a white sparkle shows where a new tooth is coming in. Nancy moves quickly over to a mirror, looks at her tooth and smiles, then returns to the group. (Had she been told that sucking her thumb will ruin her teeth?) At any rate, after the teacher's reasurrance, and the chance to show her new tooth to the other children, smiling and pointing as she opens her mouth, she begins sucking her thumb and puts the other one back into her navel.

Her mother reports that she has frequent heavy nose bleeding. The mother seems concerned, and talked about seeing the doctor. Although the Head Start Center had no information on her health history, the mother stated in both interviews that Nancy had experienced convulsions in infancy.

Assets?

Her mother values the Head Start experience, and remains optimistic about its value for Nancy. She could never be specific about what Head Start was doing; however, she enjoyed visiting the Center, likes to participate in parent activities, and was certain that Nancy would be better prepared for school as a result of attending. The mother herself is now enrolled in a job training program which she attends while Nancy is in class.

Nancy seems to have used the year well. She's grown a great deal in this year, and apparently can utilize an opportunity to be with friendly adults in a stimulating setting with other children.

Recommendations:

Head Start seems not to have been involved in the health picture for Nancy, and perhaps the mother needs some support in checking on the nose bleeding.

THE CASE OF DAN

Birthdate: December 30, 1966

After talking with Mrs. H., at the time of the first visit to this Head Start classroom in the fall, the observer asked her to point out her son. Mrs. H. indicated which boy was her's, and went over and sat down by him. He was at a table with several other children, all of them playing with clay. As she sat down, she said to Dan, "What are you doing?" in a critical tone. He didn't answer. She picked up some clay and started rolling it, suggesting to Dan that he "make something." She said, crossly, "Move up to the table." Dan lowered his head and eyes. Mrs. H. said, "Make a cake."

Dan started to roll a piece of clay and she said, "That's not the way." He went ahead rolling a piece of clay and she said, very abruptly, "What is that?" Dan muttered something, and she said, "Speak up; say it clearer." He didn't say anything. In the next few minutes Mrs. H. kept up a constant barrage of suggestions on how Dan might work with the clay better.

With the pressure of being observed, Mrs. H. behaves as she thinks a good mother should, giving directions and corrections in a steady stream. It is no wonder that Dan is seen on many occasions only marginally able to deal with the program, even after his critical mother leaves:

After he returns from the language room, he rejoins the clay table, sitting quietly making another clay birthday cake. The other children at the table are talking, changing places, trading clay, etc. He glances at the others now and then, but doesn't interact. Observer asks, "Do you like to play with clay, Dan?" Shakes head yes. Dan has just finished a birthday cake. Observer asks, "Whose cake is that?" He responds, "Momma's." (And he is righter than he knows).

*****

Several children grab Dan's clay. He puts finger in mouth, appears about to cry. His three clay cakes were saved. He wipes eyes, as though there were tears, then continues to sit with finger in his mouth.

*****

Playground: Dan sits by himself on step while others play games. Gets up and walks across playground to fence, walks along touching fence. Everyone is playing the game except Dan and another boy who joins him at the fence. The boy chases Dan and pushes him down. Dan gets up and chases him, but quickly gives up and stands with finger in his mouth, looking dejected.

*****

Dan sits on step watching kids play train. Almost all children involved.

He is equally ineffective in obtaining the attention of the adults:

Everybody coloring on sheets of paper, each with new box of crayons. Dan concentrates on his coloring, intent on his work. Several children go to teacher to show their work, or to get paper. Dan carries his picture to the teacher, taps her on the shoulder several times, but she doesn't respond to him as

she's talking to another child. Dan gives up immediately and goes back to seat. Colors for a few more minutes, then turns in crayons.

As the morning ends, Dan, perhaps expressing his frustration with self and others, copes with his frustration by attacking another child:

Dan sitting at table by himself, looks at boy standing nearby, jumps up and grabs his shirt in an effort to pull him down to floor. Teacher shouts: "Dan, you stop that right now and get to your seat." Dan lowers his eyes, sheepishly, and returns to his seat.

Even at the beginning of the year, however, Dan was equal to the "educational" expectations of the program. He hurries, when called, to the arithmetic area, waits quietly as the other children come in pushing and laughing. The teacher commends him: "I like the way you're sitting." Dan smiles. He can arrange a set of four pictures in correct sequence, and can reproduce changes as modeled by the teacher. Most of the other children have some trouble. He can count to 7 correctly, but does so in such a soft voice that he cannot be heard ten feet away by the observer. He can reproduce rhyming words, hamburger, lamburger, samburger, etc. and is one of two children who manage this correctly.

By the mid-winter visit, Dan has armed himself as a way of strengthening his position with the other children. He walks slowly into the room, carrying a toy gun, and immediately sits down at a table next to another boy. Dan initiates conversation; they talk together briefly, then Dan points gun at boy and says, "Bang." The "dead" boy puts his hands up in the air; both boys laugh. Throughout the arrival of the other children, Dan uses his gun to make contact with other boys, although the interaction is usually brief and consists of a chase and withdrawal from which Dan looks over the scene from the sidelines.

By year's end, Dan arrives dressed in a bright red shirt and brown slacks. He appears to have grown much taller since the last visit, which may be in part because of his new "afro" hairstyle. He joins two boys in running around the room, first one chasing, then another. Dan is as active as the other two. They begin playing with blocks, sliding them from one end of the room to the other. Several fights occur, and Dan is as aggressive as the other boys. This man-to-man encounter is not altogether characteristic of him, however, and the observer states:

Overall, Dan is now more responsive to peers. When they initiate an activity, and include him, he can become involved and be an active member of the group. However, if any aggression is directed toward him, he becomes quite distressed and withdraws.

What is Dan's concept of self and the world?

Dan remains quite restrained in his physical movements in the classroom in contrast to the other children who seem to move about a good deal, during lessons and lunch as well as free play times. He restricts his boundaries, and tends to do what is expected of him, without being told. There is much less passivity and disinterest in his facial expression, and he seems alert to what is going on. It seems that Dan underestimates his true abilities, especially with respect to intellectual achievements, and does not make a distinction between his mother's expectations for "good" behavior, and what the school might allow or approve of.

How do others see him?

His parents see him as shy, but as improving a lot this year. His young, well dressed father provided much of the information in the last interview of the year and expresses pleasure in his son's progress. It is his first visit to the school:

> Dan's still shy, but not as much as he used to be. He talks a lot more to me about what he does at school. I notice the difference, how he talks, his conversation. He uses more words and knows more things. At home he's more talkative, although he's still shy around here.

Both parents seem to regard Dan as a reasonable and responding human being. The father says they don't have to spank him. We talk to him about what he's doing right or wrong. And he asks why about things. We seldom spank - if we do, it's usually when he's with his cousin, who's older. Dan follows him and maybe gets into trouble. Dan's father says he "uses a harsh tone of voice, harsher than his wife's. She'll hold his hand to tell him. I just tell him. But my relationship is better with him since I bring him to school." (Wife has started working, Mr. H. is a student himself).

The doctor is reported to find Dan in good shape; but the teachers report that Dan missed school a lot with asthma. And Dan himself told the observer that he was "sick yesterday–with asthma" although the words became clear only after several repeats.

Overall, the teachers regard his progress with some qualification. Two say that he was doing really well, and all of a sudden stopped. He remained in the lowest group throughout the year. The teachers also noted his decreased shyness and willingness to talk more and in a more understandable tone of voice.

Since the observer saw that his performance often exceeded that of any others in the group, the teachers' comments seem to suggest either that they were not aware of his abilities, or see a different child:

> "He wouldn't answer with the group, but if singled out he would. If he really knew the answer, he'd answer with the group, but was afraid of being wrong. Really, Dan needed to develop socially before he could mentally. He would be ready for kindergarten–he learned fast!"

What is Dan working on this year?

Dan is working very systematically at his lessons, giving them first attention. He seems to like the work, and tries to accomplish all that is asked. From the record, it appears that he is ahead of the others in his group. He has lost some of the uncertainty shown early in the year. While he continues to respond in a soft voice, and with some hesitancy, he is intent on the task at hand, gives the teacher complete attention, and learns quickly. The record reports his behavior on a day testers had come in:

> The testers have arrived and are arranging the second half of the children for their group test. Again, the task is to copy symbols. Dan works hard during the time allotted–appears to be intent on doing well. The others at his table are much less interested, gazing around the room and giving minimal attention to the task.

In addition, Dan has worked to find a place with his peer group. To some extent he has achieved this, also. Certainly, he is more responsive to them. On the last visit, he was affectionate toward a peer several times:

> Dan is sitting at a table between 2 girls. He affectionately leans his head on one girl's shoulder. They both laugh. She tries to push him off his chair; he laughs and pushes her. Together they try to turn the table over (don't succeed).

His response to authority, personified in the teachers, was always acquiescent. By year's end, it is noted that he responds more enthusiastically to them, smiling, laughing, and calling out to them at times. In general, then, Dan seems to have been working on his own image of himself as a worthwhile person. He seems to regard himself in much more positive terms.

What is Dan's style?

Dan seems to be a watcher and waiter. He needs to be 110% sure of himself before he wades in. His shyness extends even to greeting his father, who came for him one day. Dan did not respond at all when his father came across the playground, even though several children shouted, "Dan, your Daddy."

What adjustment problems face Dan?

The most threatening possibility in the near future seems to lie in the area of school attendance next year. He is too young to go on to Follow Through, although the father has contacted the principal, there seems to be nothing that can be done about it. The Head Start group will not take him a second year. His father says he "hates for Dan to be out of school a whole year."

What are his assets?

Dan seems to have a good mind, and will be able to work up to grade expectations. Fortunately, his parents can see beyond intellectual achievement and will not pressure him. In the Father's own words:

> "Dan's still shy some, but he'll come out of it. When he goes to grade school, this will help him (Head Start). He will come out of it, we won't push him. Maybe in his school, but not now. The main thing is Dan is having fun. Learning's not important. But he has something to talk about when he gets home. Not just watching TV all day."

And the Father looks ahead:

> "I want him to be whatever he wants. It's all right with me. I don't know what I would like him to be–whatever he's interested in. Mostly I'd like him to enjoy his childhood. I'm 23. I jumped from 16 to 23 too fast."

What has Head Start done for him?

Although Dan remains pretty much an outsider in the play groups, he has gained some skill in social interaction. He initiates interaction with peers sporadically, and although his attempts to become a part of a large group activity are apt to be unsuccessful, he continues to try.

After lunch, Dan was at a table with three other boys. They were fighting among themselves, leaning across the table to hit or pound on an opponent. Dan was imitating as much aggression as the other boys and held his own when someone tried to shove or push him out of his chair. He laughed during these interchanges, and seemed to be enjoying the give-and-take, rather than frightened by the aggression directed toward him.

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Class is waiting for the teacher. Boys are grabbing one another, pretending to bite, etc. Dan watches them, then copies their antics, grabbing the child next to him, pretending to bite, etc.

His teachers feel that his speech has improved considerably. "He used to mumble–he talks big now."

Judging from his responses, there is no doubt that he learned a good many skills at Head Start, in the academic areas.

Once again, his father summarizes the gains well: "Dan appreciates the things he hasn't seen before, like going to the zoo. He told me all about the things he saw there. Then he looks at Romper Room on TV and relates what he's seen to that. Plus, he seems happy. He laughs and plays all day, and is tired at night. So that's good. He's busy and happy.

"The main thing is they're happy at Head Start. They have something to talk about, and the parents listen. It helps the relationship between the parent and child."

What more could be done?

Since Dan appears to have been an outstanding member of the lowest group and tends to copy what he sees around him rather than to branch out on his own, one wonders why this child was not placed in a higher work group. It is doubtful if he would go much beyond what he saw others doing. His reported slump may have been a loss of challenge in the tasks presented.

CASE OF CHARLOTTE

Birthdate: September 13, 1966

Charlotte is one of the smallest girls in this class in a middle-western city. Her head seems small because her hair is pulled tightly into small pigtails all over her head, giving the appearance of "no hair," other than in the braided pigtails, each of which has a bright ribbon tied on it. She was dressed in plaid slacks and a Mickey Mouse sweatshirt. This colorful child enters wholeheartedly into her Head Start day. She speaks loudly and clearly, in fact, louder than anyone in the class as she counts 1, 2, 3. She again is confident as the group counts to 7, which many of the children were unable to do. An excerpt from the record shows her competence well:

> **Matching game** – 4 shapes for each child to put in the same order as the teacher's model. Charlotte is the first one done. Calls, "Teacher, look at mine." Teacher points out that it's not right, and Charlotte corrects it immediately. Smiles widely when Teacher says, "Good." Three more arrangements are presented by the teacher, and Charlotte completed each one very quickly. On the task of counting pennies, Charlotte counted to 9 loudly and clearly. Class is dismissed. Charlotte runs laughing out to free play area.

She is friendly to adults, coming up to the observer and giving her a big hug, after the first few hours of her presence in the classroom. She also asks for her name. She is also eager to try out new materials:

> Charlotte is in the first group which uses finger paint. She is excited about it, and once she starts is delighted with the results. She calls to the observer to come see her hands covered with paint. She grins widely and her eyes twinkle as she makes hand prints on the white paper.

She is open and comfortable with a range of behaviors from her agemates, as well. She can ignore their activity, if she is busy:

> Much fighting and block throwing at the table but Charlotte continues to fold up her drawing, seemingly unaware of the commotion. She approaches the observer and says, "I'm fanning myself." With a big grin on her face, eyes twinkling, she says to a girl across the table, "Joy, do you want me to come over and do you?" Joy, loudly and emphatically, "NO!" The area now is in complete chaos. Charlotte sits calmly fanning herself, while others are running around throwing blocks, yelling, etc.

And she can play the role of grown-up also: Shawn does something she does not approve of and she says, "Shawn, you stop that or I'll whip you." Later, a boy pushes her and she shouted, loud and clear, "Stop it." In fact, by mid-year, she can be somewhat scathing to a peer:

> The teacher puts two marks on the blackboard, and asks: "What are we counting to?" Class shouts, "Two." Each child takes a turn writing a 2 on the blackboard. All have trouble except Charlotte, who makes a good figure 2. When the boy next to her has tried, and made an almost unrecognizable figure on the board, Charlotte says, "Sit down, buddy."

She seems to be wary of boys, frequently pushing them away as they get too close to her, which seems to be often the case. Boys chase her as she comes into the room, boys reach out to her as she sits near them at story time. At one point, a boy comes up to her and says, "This is my girl friend and sits down

on her. He is much larger than she, but she pushes him away, saying, "Get off my chair." She shouts at the teacher to tell him to stop, but continues to fend him off even as he gets very rough. After a few more futile attempts to sit down, the boy walks away. Later he returns, saying, "I can beat you up." She responds, "No, you can't." "Yes, I can." "No you cannot." The boy walks away.

In her interaction with girls, she seems to be less provocative, or less provoked (hard to tell which). The record reveals many instances of giggles, brief hiding under stairs with a group of girls, and playful encounters.

Concept of self:

From the foregoing, it appears that Charlotte has well-founded confidence in her ability to fend for herself, and an outgoing readiness to tackle the challenges which face her, whether from the subject matter of the Head Start model, or her human challengers. She eagerly accepted an invitation from the observer to paint, and talked freely about her family (both parents, 4 siblings) and her pleasures in attending school. She is proud of having two grandmas, – "More than that – I've got a grandpa." She sees herself as a happy girl, and a good girl, "If I'm bad my mother will try to get me. But she won't even get me."

As to fears:

"I am afraid of a monster. I'm not afraid of a cow."
"Did you ever see a monster?"
"Never did."
"Did you ever see a cow?"
"No."

How others see Charlotte:

Teachers and relatives (grandmother and aunt, who cares for her during the day as her parents both work) agree in the appraisal of Charlotte as a confident and competent child. She is regarded as a favorite of her parents by her Aunt, as the youngest of their children. The aunt does not see her as a dependent child, noting that she was prepared to go by herself to school, from the very first day. She is affectionate, asking for a kiss, if the aunt gives one to her son, Charlotte's cousin, who is also in the Head Start group, saying, "Am I your girl too?" If angry, she will cry instead of fight or hit. Apparently, she sees adults as willing to come to her aid, and is free to ask for help if needed.

The teachers see her as a "jolly kid" who plays well and does fine in her school work (reading, arithmetic, language). She is seen as active and aggressive, but one who would not hurt the other children.

Charlotte can be resistant to teacher demands, but apparently can do this without arousing their anger. On one occasion when she did not respond to a call for the children to come to get their name tags, the teacher rather angrily repeats her name. Charlotte, who is sitting at a table all the way across the room, gets up and walks backwards to the teacher, moving slowly and appearing relaxed and unconcerned.

What developmental tasks seem to be confronting Charlotte?

Despite her confident beginning in the program, Charlotte was observed sucking her thumb rather frequently at the outset. In the course of the year, she seems to have become somewhat more free in expressing her feelings. She is quite affectionate toward peers, and shows a fondness for all of the teachers. She seems more responsive to the total situation, showing excitement when the teacher announces a group activity, fighting with a peer when any attempt is made to disrupt activity or remove her work. She laughs frequently at appropriate times, and her eyes twinkle when she is excited, primarily when she is interacting with peers. She no longer ignores aggression directed toward her, but tends to return the aggression–some of this is rather slyly directed against adults. At the same time, her pattern of interpersonal relations with peers has moved from disinterest or short-lived contacts to frequent interaction and deeper involvement.

The child's style:

This little girl seems vivid and alive, full of vitality. She is energetic and effective in her approach.

Adjustment difficulties?

It is hard to point to any real problems for this little girl.

Assets?

Charlotte has a lot going for her. She is bright enough to manage the demands of the program, and is, in fact, disappointed when there are no "take homes" to do. She knows most of the answers to problems posed, and can respond even when she has not been paying attention. At year's end, the teachers see her as having made good progress. "She always has been sociable and a well-rounded child. She does tremendously well in languages. She learned how to read (she will not be five until next fall). She learned how to mix with other children. She's more mature now than at first." Another teacher notes: "She started in the third group, then moved to the top group after the first testing. She's eager to respond. She'd guess if she didn't know the answer. She was tired the last 2 weeks, and her answers weren't as good."

But even more fundamentally, Charlotte has a great asset in her large, closely-knit family. The grandmother is proud of 17 children (15 still living) and her 28 grandchildren. She feels that she can tell the difference with those who have had Head Start, and hopes it will continue for all kids. Charlotte asks to read her take-home as soon as she gets home, and the grandmother helps. She also notes that when her mother is too busy to help with schoolwork, her dad takes over.

The Head Start year:

The record shows that Charlotte began to be some more restless than the other children, by February, and one suspects that her ability to catch on quickly gave her many moments where she was not particularly challenged. She put her energy into interaction with peers, moving from a state of tearful withdrawal to "opening up." Charlotte had chickenpox, which caused her to be absent for two weeks, but she had no difficulty in catching up.

What more could have been done?

As the foregoing suggests, Charlotte is one of the girls who peaks about mid-year, and may not have had sufficient challenge to keep her moving at her optimum level.

THE CASE OF JAMES

Birthdate: 8/17/66

"Here I am," calls James, with a broad smile during roll call. He has bright shining eyes, set in a small pixie-face, and darts here and there like a deer. He is wearing a blue shirt, blue socks, blue sneakers, and is the smallest boy in the group. In spite of his small stature and his charm, he is the object of a good deal of negative attention from the adults in the school, possibly because his father is one of the parent aides for the first ten weeks. A selection of comments addressed to him by aides, teachers, and father include:

"Bring your tray, hurry up."
"James, your lunch is all in your lunch apron. You didn't eat any."
"Come on, James, what's wrong with you, huh?"
"You watch when we're ready so we don't have to wait all that time."

Close observation reveals some cause for concern in his behavior. He tends to drool. When drinking his milk, he holds it in his mouth, and lets some dribble down his chin. He eats with abandon and poor coordination. He is quite distractible, becoming lost in the details of a task. When he puts his crayons away, he studies the box for some time after putting it in the cubby. When he receives papers, he studies the staple. When the teacher is not working directly with him on the lessons, he looks about and loses interest, but when the teacher concentrates on him, he tends to look at her face rather than the book or the chart.

His early history supports the impression of some mild neuromuscular disability. When a week old, he became thin and ill, and was hospitalized in the nearest regional hospital, more than 100 miles,from the village. He was kept until about 6 months of age. According to his father, he had "needles" everywhere, and the family was not sure he would live. The father knows little about his earliest months, because the family had no transportation and saw him seldom. He continues to have colds, and when observed, had a deep cough, which had persisted throughout the summer.

His gross motor coordination, however, is good. In riding a tricycle, climbing and dancing he is fleet and skillful.

As the year progresses, James learns how to stay out of trouble with the adults. For one thing, he does become more skillful in eating. He eats without spilling, and through this and other more skillful management of his body, he avoids being scolded so much of the time. Physically, he still tends to lack stamina, and becomes very tired of sitting, often sliding to the floor during the work periods. By mid-year, the drooling had ceased. In more quiet periods, he seems to have the ideas, and frequently gets other children involved in what he is doing:

Playroom: James enters the playroom first. As the other boys come in, he sets up a rather boisterous game of raiding the girls in the doll corner. They have small brooms and ropes, and descend upon the girls who huddle in a corner, looking frightened. The NYC worker, serving as an aide, tells the boys, "You get out of the house." They obediently run away, shaking brooms and waving ropes. Another attack, led by James. He is swift and agile in the game, smiles, crouches, dodges, and checks the movements of the others with his eyes. It is very real to him; he is caught up in the drama.

At the tables, too, when children are waiting for the next activity to begin, James will sneak a book off the shelves, find a pencil and begin to beat it on the edge of the table, and seek out other ways to distract himself, usually bringing the others at the table along with him.

However, he is wary of direct body contact with the other, larger, children:

As the children enter the playroom there is a lot of fighting between the boys, who tackle each other in a free for all. There is hand to hand encounter, and they attempt to throw each other to the floor. James is shy of this hard play, and seems to slip out of the fighting. He has obtained possession of a large rubber ball, and he keeps it, in spite of several attacks, by dodging and ducking. As he resists one of the attempts to get a ball away from him, the aide comes over to straighten out the encounter and he goes limp as she tries to drag him over to a chair.

Somewhat later, he elects to play ball with the teacher, rather than to let one of his classmates get an opening to grab it. He retains the ball, bouncing it. When it is knocked out of his hand by another boy, he looks as if he will cry. After a moment, he streaks after the possessor of the ball, grabs it, and outstares the boy, slips, loses the ball, and rushes after it to a chair, repossessing it, firmly. He stays out of the main game thereafter in order to control the ball.

What is his concept of self?

James seems to be a blithe spirit, untouched by the demands or expectations of others. Closer observation, however, reveals a rather tough core from which the scoldings and disappointments bounce off. It is impossible to tell if this imperviousness has a psychological, or neurological base. He is the second of 4 children, with a brother one year older than himself, and may have always had to compete from the difficult middle position threatened from above and below. The months he spent in a hospital in infancy may contribute to the whatever slight detachment one feels in studying James. In any case, he seems to believe in himself, in his physical powers and handles others—when he feels threat—by staying out of their way, or turning them off. This is particularly noticeable in the lesson periods of the program.

What do others think of him?

He seems to be liked by the children, who find him fun and full of ideas. At the outset he was somewhat scapegoated by the adults, which may also have endeared him to his classmates. He is friendly, busy, and never malicious.

The teachers think of him as stubborn. Even at the end of the year, when James was observed to be sticking to his work, at least when an adult was near, he was regarded negatively: "James won't do his work. He just won't do anything, and nobody can make him."

His father thinks of him as sometimes bad and sometimes good. There is a kind of easy tolerance in his statement: "Very seldom I work up courage enough to spank or scold him. Mostly he's good." The father, as an aide, is so soft and gentle with the children in the program, it is most plausible to feel that he would need "courage" to strike a child. (It is unusual to re-employ a parent in the program, but Mr. T. worked last spring, again in the fall, and was brought back by "public demand" in the spring of this year.)

His mother was not available for interviews, being employed some distance away.

What is James working on?

James tries very hard to meet the formal educational expectations of the model, and appears to want to please the adults who work so diligently with him. There is doubt that he has much understanding of what it is all about, however; he may be more adept in picking up cues to "get the right answer" than he is at grasping the question.

> Work period on letters: He gives no response and has not been listening to the other recitations which have been good: t, n a m, t h a, n m t. Teacher moves to other children, back to him. He tries again . . Fails on "t". Looks at teacher's face rather than chart. When focused, gets along with help on "t". Teacher drills and reviews and he's rewarded with 4 tokens, one for each line.
>
> He's laggard on fetching his tokens out for counting. The teacher scolds, "Every time you have to get out when we count. O.K. James. Your turn. You watch when we're ready so we don't have to wait all the time."

His need for special help is recognized, and by mid-year he is sent off to work with the NYC aide.

> He cuts out some pictures from the Sears catalogue, very small pictures, remarkable cutting. The teacher then brings a yellow crayon to draw on a worksheet, from which he is to select which of two designs are alike. The child is to scribble over the two which are alike, (not outline, or check, or fill in). James holds his crayon in a shovel-like grasp, right-handed. Very absorbed in his work. When the teacher asks a question, he bangs the yellow crayon into the page. The pictures are of an ice cream cone, sucker, boots, etc.
>
> His speech is soft, and hard to catch. There seems some tendency to a sing song, chanty quality in his responses, as if he had been over all this, many times before. He turns the page in the workbook, sighs a little, groans softly. But he is off and busy and very quick about his choices, and usually chooses the correct duplicate: apple, banana, flower. He wiggles back into his chair, feet off the floor. (The aide says he has not done the sheet before. She says: "He is really quick, but the children need help in some things, so we are tutoring him.")

At the time of the last visit, James approaches his work with zest. As work books are handed out, he eagerly located his place and begins. He marks two arithmetic problems swiftly, founders on the third, mouth open, beating the book with his pencil. Finally, he says, "I'm through. Got it all." The teacher does not check for correctness. Later the observer looks at his book and most are wrong. There is a tendency for him to select the top choice when two are presented. At another work session, the following notes are made:

> He sits well back in his chair, feet dangling. He begins with his usual concentration, but after 6 minutes of attention to the book, he looks around, studies the others, and slips to the floor.
> Examples of his work: p is written as d; a pin as a pbn,
> pan as a aan; fat as fnt,
> cat as aat; can as con; man as 8an.

Aside from the academic expectations of the program, James has gained in overall smoothness in performance in the school setting. He has gained in motor skills, in confidence in himself, and in self-direction.

What is his style?

Basically an active child, he cannot sit still for very long without doing something, so he tends to provide a center of interest for the other children. He is not aggressive, and will remove himself from confrontation. In physical contact games, he is wary of fighting or scrambling with the other boys, but he enjoys running and playing games which have enough rules that he is protected from free wheeling interaction. In his relationship with adults, he is in charge of his own "soul" and cannot be touched when he does not want to be.

What adjustment problems does he face?

There is evidence that he is not ready for the abstractness of reading and number computations, and will probably have difficulty unless the next program is adapted to his need for much more work with concrete objects. He did much better, for example, when provided with small animals to handle as he worked arithmetic problems.

James probably needs a better medical supervision than that which is provided at the hospital for Indian children. While his nasal discharge has dried up by spring, he was wearing a cotton plug in his ear. He remains thin, and grew during the year so he appears even more so.

Family problems have appeared, with the separation of Mother and Father. Since James is drawn to male figures in the program, he will miss his father very much.

What are his assets?

James seems to recognize his limitations, and tries to stay within them. When things are really beyond him, he simply withdraws (with lessons, as well as interpersonal contact) but he comes back the next day with zest and bounce. He is a gay fellow, sweet to others, joyful when things are not too serious and oppressive. When the music begins, he's on his feet and off to dance, grabbing a partner as he charges to the middle of the floor, leading the others in simple folk dances (right foot in, right foot out) or the dances of his people. He has perfect time, and can dance to rhythm, entirely leaving the floor with both feet in mid-air, or stroke an auto-harp, resisting the impulse to get too fast (which many a 4-year-old is not able to do.)

What has Head Start done for him?

James was provided with a great many experiences through Head Start which considerably enriched his days. Many field trips enlarged his knowledge of the world outside his village. Already well coordinated, he gained skill in management of his body through the wheeled toys, balls, and climbing equipment provided. He was given an introduction to the world of letters and numbers, prematurely perhaps, but at least he knows what lies ahead. The family is very poor, and the good and plentiful food at school was important to this marginally malnourished child. The program provided contact with males, other than his father, and he cherished these men. He did his best work for them.

What more could have been done?

The teachers and the parents like the program at Head Start. "It is all planned, and we just have to teach it." This strength, however, is also its weakness. Clearly, James needs a program which begins far below the level to which this one can apparently be stretched. His resilience and his basic desire to please adults continues to keep him involved at this time, but it seems doubtful if he was really given a head start in academics because his stage of maturity and the focus of the model were so poorly matched.

THE CASE OF CANDY

Birthdate: September 16, 1966

Selected according to the randomization schedule of this project. Candy turns out to be an outstandingly beautiful child in this group of winning youngsters. She is the tallest in the class, although the youngest. Her clothes are high quality and high style. She wears a long blue shirt and slacks, a junior version of pant suit style, white socks, red sneakers, hairbow of blue. She doesn't respond on the first call of her name. Second time she beams, "Here I am." Unlike the other children, she is standing at the table, and slides up to sit on it. Bounces back and forth. She is directed to sit down at her own table where her name is pasted.

> Her group is working on phonics. The new letter is n. She responds correctly and is awarded 6 tokens for her enthusiastic participation. The tokens are to be used to "purchase" free play items. She prefers the doll house, priced at 2 tokens, even though she has enough to buy the slide, at 5 tokens.

She is placed in the slowest group of children, but probably does better than the others, even though she takes much time for socializing.

The foregoing descriptions seem to characterize Candy well. She continues to start out at the wrong table, for wherever she is, she is content and begins to talk to those near her. She chooses the doll house, always, even if she cannot "pay" for it:

> "All right, Candy," says the teacher. "You've got 7 tokens." Candy says, "The doll house." Teacher: "You've got to work a little bit more. You need 11 tokens for the doll house. You've got enough for the play dough."

Candy joins the play dough table, biting on her shirt sleeves as she goes. Her interest in, and concern for the other children remains high, too. For example, a new boy joins the group, and does not have a box of crayons. The teacher asks Chuck to share with Bobby. Bobby touches the box, as if to take all. Chucky does not react. Bobby returns the crayons (the two boys seem to have an understanding–Bobby's gesture was a kind of test perhaps). Candy, however, reaches over and flips a brown crayon out of the box toward Bobby. Bobby, however, returns it to its slot. Another time, Candy notices that one of the boys has an injury:

> Candy takes a look across the table toward Nick who has a brilliant black eye. She looks stunned and says, "Your eye." He says nothing. Candy finishes her milk, places the carton in the trash, and returns, skipping, over to Nick's table to study his face.

By the end of the year, Candy is a leader in amusing the group at her table. During a long wait one morning for the program to get started, she initiates some games. First she puts her head on her hands, to sleep.

> Then she begins to sound like a dog, howling, barking. The other children imitate her and she makes variations on the theme. "Not whoooo. It's toot, toot." Everybody laughs. She opens her eyes. The game changes to hitting heads and making faces. They clap, keep on clapping, and begin to clap with each other's hands.

The teacher intervenes. "Let's fold hands and keep quiet." The children eye each other over their folded hands, eyes dancing.

More delays in the program. The children begin to play again. Eyes closed, shaking heads, fist pounding, head shaking, smiles, rhythmic pounding. Table II is scolded again.

Finally, the children at Candy's table somehow get to their feet and swing in to the Pledge of Allegiance and the morning song. Usually the teachers take a lot of time organizing this ritual. On this day, the children take it over themselves, with zest, and the familiar words of the Pledge of Allegiance sound fresh again. Then they sing a song about fifty stars on a field of blue, singing with real feeling.

Candy's mastery of the morning ritual and routines of the program do not extend to her work with the lessons. By the end of the year, she tires before work is done.

She starts out this morning much involved in the lesson, sounding out the letters in unison. She is hunched over the table, one shoe off, eyes on the teacher. Hands to mouth, frequently. After 5 minutes she begins to lose interest, and instead of the intense involvement, she has a glazed look on her face. Still eyes front, [illegible] no longer participating. She scrubs the table with her hands outstretched, looks, coughs, hand to mouth.

In, pin, tin, it is the lesson. It continues.

Candy is frankly daydreaming now, but is brought back to by a request for unison response. Then the focus is shifted to individuals and the teacher starts around the circle: in, pin, tin, it, as she points to the words. Candy stretches, picks her nose, wiggles in her chair, turns with her back to the table. She begins to bat hands with Thomas, studies her fingernails, head on hands.

It is her turn to read. She gets in, with some prompting. Pin is correct; tin requires re-teaching and it likewise. (Perhaps the teacher moved in too fast. Given a little more time, Candy might have gotten it. The lesson was long, and probably teacher wanted to complete it). She receives a token, but leaves it on the table.

Teacher: "Where do our tokens belong?"
Candy: "In our pockets."
Teacher: "Don't play with them."

What is her concept of self?

Candy is unflappable. In her demeanor she is solid and steady, as deliberate and thorough in eating as in her work and play. She sets her own pace, and cannot be hurried. With respect to adults, she seems confident that they will help her when needed, and does not ask for any special favors. She risks teasing them. Once she poked fun at the observer who had asked, "Who has a big brother?" Candy says, "I do. He is Smokey Bear!"

When discussing her father, she recalled that he got drunk on a trip, and she tried to spank him. When asked about her new baby sister, she matter-of-factly announced, "She's crying." She accepts others, and herself, and seems to like what she sees.

How do others see her?

Her deliberate movements irritate her teachers, sometimes, and they want to hurry her, or elicit more immediate obedience. The teacher grabs her finger one day, and puts it on the right spot on the page, shifts her chair impatiently, and says, "You're another one of those who watches everybody else."

She is cared for during the day by a loving great-aunt, who also looks after her baby brother, and expects to add the third child, due mid-year, to her "little kindergarten." The teacher accompanied the observer on this visit to the aunt's home, and both she and the aunt agreed that the father expects too much of his first born daughter. She is large, and verbal, and he wants her to do all the things the smaller children can do—but they are older.

The other children like Candy. By year's end, she emerges as a leader, not so much by directing or suggesting things, but simply by bubbling over with high good spirits, and liking everybody. She thinks of the songs to sing during a waiting interval, she sees that a boy gets his crayons, she asks about an injury to a fellow classmate, etc. Her nurturant streak, regularly exhibited in the doll corner, she extends to others freely.

What is Candy working on?

Candy doesn't really work at anything. She does what she really wants to do, or she doesn't do it at all. More specifically, to address the question of developmental tasks, Candy has been learning to conform to the expectations of school. She settles down to the instruction period with zest, knows the routines, and has learned how to appear to be absorbed even though she has lost interest. She has learned how to function happily with other children, and began to stand out as a real favorite, especially with girls.

She accepted the further dilution of the attention of her mother, with the arrival of a new baby, with apparent equanimity.

What is her style?

Much of the foregoing speaks to this point. She goes her own way, which fortunately coincides with the mainstream for the most part. She is resistant to adults in some of the school routines, and seems unconcerned about conforming to mere details such as the right place to sit, responding to requests, or accepting restrictions. When absolutely necessary, however, she accepts restrictions, without comment. Unlike many of the children, she was stoical and unafraid when called to the dentist, and returned, eager to show her teeth, but without complaint.

Adjustment problems?

Because she is verbally facile and large for her age, she is sometimes expected to behave as an older or more mature child than she really is. These expectations may cause her some difficulty in school, and have already been a source of frustration in her relationships with her father. Probably the major problem will come in failing to recognize the gaps in her knowledge, because she is so competent in many fields.

What are her assets?

Candy is a most attractive little girl, carefully dressed and groomed by her mother, who has a real sense of style, and lovingly looked after by a great-aunt. She seems to have received enough affectional concern to give her a resilience and empathy in her dealings with others.

Her parents are busy with work and community affairs. They provide a strong base for her entrance into the social life of this cluster of villages.

Intellectually, she is performing at about average or less, but she seems to have no basis for critical evaluation and is not perturbed by her failures.

She seems to be in excellent health, and was fitted with glasses during the school year. They are rarely worn, usually being left at home, but at least somebody is aware that her eyes may need further attention.

What has Head Start done for her?

In the course of the year, Candy seems to have made the most of her opportunities. She has learned the routines of the school, and has had a good time. She was introduced to the world of letters and numbers, enjoys the songs and rituals of the school program, and participates wholeheartedly in whatever is going on. She tends to be somewhat flat footed and awkward in her gait, and there was much opportunity for her to work on large muscle coordination, on the playground, with wheeled toys, and in dancing and folk games. These activities were emphasized in the program, particularly the first two-thirds of the year. After that, a change in staff altered the routines somewhat. Her world was enlarged by several field trips, to a circus, to a nearby town, to a zoo. Her father, who is active in the parent group, is very pleased with her progress at school.

What more could be done?

No basic changes seem to be indicated for this little girl.

CASE OF JOSEPH

Birthdate: January 2, 1966

"It's time for lunch," Joseph calls out, quite aware of the morning time sequence (by the 6th day of classes). "It's lunch time," he sings out again with joy and delight, smiling. He wiggles a lot as he waits, looking under the table, pointing to other children and carrying on a conversation with one of the two girls whom he shepherds to school, a quarter-mile walk on a rough road. Lunch is served on individual compartmentalized trays. He turns his around, avoiding the vegetables. He chews his food with his mouth closed, and eats well, using his left hand occasionally to supplement his spoon.

This active boy finds rest time a bore:

> Joseph pinches the child lying beside him. When she tells the teacher, he covers his face with the mat. Then he and a few other children begin to hum; the sound gets louder until Joseph is shouting, while covering his ears. "Joseph, uncover your ears and don't do that," says the teacher who is finishing her lunch. Marie pulls his hair. "Teacher, Marie pinched me," he calls. "Marie, don't pinch Joseph," says the teacher, who, lunch finished, decides to send the children home.

When opportunity exists to involve himself more productively, he tends to direct other children in appropriate activities. After a time with building with the blocks, for example, he climbs on the tilting blocks. When another child begins to climb before him, he pushes her aside. She looks shocked, eyes open wide, and freezes in place. The teacher calls, "Let's put the blocks away." At this point, Joseph takes over the leadership:

> "The big blocks over there," his tone is rather bossy and forceful. He carries the blocks securely with two hands. "Here," he declares, as he gives a block to the teacher. Several children are involved, and Joseph takes a block away from one of them, but the other child does not let go. He retreats without the block.

At a later point, he again takes charge of putting away some smaller counting blocks. "Put it there," he tells another child. "Where's the cover?" "Behave." He gives orders in a loud and demanding tone. At juice time he shouts to a child who touches his glass: "Put your hands in your lap," the teacher comments, "That's one rule Joseph doesn't forget," smiling at the children. He shakes his chair to dislodge a child who has taken it over.

When directly confronted with a request to supply information, however, Joseph may be unable to respond. He is silent when asked to name an animal. The teacher later asks, "Joseph can you count to 10?" He puts his head on the table covering his face. As the teacher leads the group, Joseph's voice can be heard, counting. For his first experience with finger paint, he is quite restrained in movement, using only his right hand, using only one finger of his right hand, and holding onto the chair with his other hand. In time, however, he uses his entire hand, and is the first to cover his page with a design. He stops, noticing his blue hand.

Concept of self

At the beginning of the school year, Joseph seems able to meet adults half way, interacting with them as well as his peers. He smiles at strangers, and does not seem tense with them. When told not to do

something, he listens, and doesn't cry, as do some of the other children. He has a wide range of responses, serious when working on a project, assertive when confronted with a job to be done, shy when directly confronted with a question to be answered, warm and playful if there is freedom to loosen up.

How others view him

Joseph is largely cared for by a grandmother who is carrying total responsibility for the family of 8 children as the mother, a widow, is out of the area caring for a sick aunt. This grandmother cares for babies during the day, and frequently depends upon Joseph for help with these young ones when he is around. She sees him, as do his teacher and mother, as a dependable child with "no problems." The teacher sees Joseph as one of her star pupils, and frequently selects him as the first to try a new task or piece of equipment. "Put your scissors away," the teacher tells C., "Joseph will show you where." Joseph points to the cubby and she returns her scissors to the correct place. He is seen by the observer as a strong, alert child who needs more challenging activities. His peers see him as a leader at times, and they follow him. They see him as someone who can help. At points, however, he needs to learn how to temper his commands, and to lead with less force.

> Joseph smiles broadly, tapping his foot on the floor when Mrs. M. tells him that he will be in charge of the lotto game at his table. "Give each of them a card," she tells Joseph. "Put down all your cards," he calls to his partners. "Who has this one?" Joseph checks each child's card before he gives the lotto square to the child. "Do you have it, B?" Joseph asks in a very teacher-like tone. "No, I don't have it." Joseph checks each card again. "Put it on your card," Joseph instructs the next child in a very authoritarian tone.
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> ******
>
> Mrs. M. instructs Joseph to fold his mat. He tells Blanche to fold hers. He ties her shoe laces for her.

His friends, however, seem to feel free to play with him, and to tease him a little. As he ties Blanche's shoes, he allows the girls to twist his hair. "Is it plaited?" he asks. Yolanda, originally not part of the group, pulls his hair forcefully. "I'll tell the teacher on you," he retorts, grimacing. "You get licked," he adds.

As the youngest child in a large family, Joseph seems to have profited from the successful adaptive patterns of his older siblings (in terms of orientation toward education, combining college with jobs for example) and has not found it necessary to play the helpless or dependent "baby" to meet their needs. They actually, seem not to pay much attention to him. He plays mostly with a brother, a year older, who is attending kindergarten. He likes to be busy, and activity for its own sake seems compelling. He selects equipment, completes what it is intended for, and returns it to the shelf, looking for the next "thing to do." He likes to receive attention for his accomplishments, but is not incapacitated by inattention:

> J. works on a stacking container game. He has trouble with one piece. He takes completed work to teacher. "Look," Joseph smiles. Teacher looks up as she leads a group in an activity. Joseph can count 5 pieces as they are stacked but goes back to 5 when he gets to the 7th piece. He talks softly, very softly, as he works—almost inaudible. He responds to the observer's questions, but does not expand upon them. Each time he completes a task, he looks up and says, smiles, "Look."

What is his style?

By the January visit, however, he begins to run down a little. He goes to the equipment shelf and begins to play with another toy. One little girl calls a color "wello." Joseph shouts, "Not wello, it's yellow." He smiles as he does so. He appears bored. He rocks his chair back. Leans on arms on table. Does not watch or engage in an activity continuously. A record is put on. Children are told to take their chairs to the corner. Joseph does not sing. He leans back, with hands resting on his head. When he does join in with the words of a song, he shouts the chorus.

In June, he is seen as less personally involved in many of the routines or activities, and more engaged in the silly play rather typical of four-year, almost five-year-old, boys. With clay, he puts some in his hair. "Get up on my hair," he says as he places clay on his hair, nose and forehead, causing others to laugh. His clay is stuck to the board, and he makes noises like an airplane. After some more fun and games, he settles down to make a representational figure of a man, 2 legs, 2 ears, 2 eyes. "It's a man."

With the other children he begins to hold onto equipment.

He carries out a tractor. "Give me a ride Joseph." A girl pushed him and he tips off of the tractor and smiles. He gets a car. "Teacher," says Charlene, "Joseph won't give me a ride." Teacher says to him. "Joseph, you can't be the only one to use it. Leave it alone," Joseph leans on the fence and sulks. He's back to the tractor again. Charlene again complains to the teacher. "Joseph won't give me a ride." Teacher says, "You'll get a ride later. Let's see who understands the (traffic) sign." After some more difficulties over the toys, the teacher finally assigns Joseph the job of being the street light.

What has Head Start done?

At year's end, then, Joseph appears to be a child who is less task oriented, and more involved in social interaction, risking some disapproval both from adults and children. As the other children catch up to him in achievements, he does not seem to be concerned about keeping ahead of them, and spends more energy in non productive (from the adult's standpoint) efforts. He's testing the limits. Developmentally, this is probably positive. Practically, he will be a less passive pupil in his next year's school.

In his style, he seems quite boyish, quick, and able to achieve the expectations of this group. By virtue of his command of language, his real ability, and his experience with following through on expectations of adults, he starts out a natural leader. By year's end, he is less smooth and reliable, but is able to ask for help when it is needed, and does not get in over his head.

Head Start has given him additional confidence in his ability to meet the expectations of adults even to the point of selectively disregarding their wishes and provided a wholesome kind of forum for exploration of materials and interaction with other children.

What more could be done?

There is some question if the program was sufficiently challenging for this boy; he was not encouraged to use materials in increasingly creative ways.

CASE OF MARIE

Birthdate: November 23, 1966

Marie clings to her mother's sweater as she is brought to school on the sixth day of Head Start classes. Mother tells Marie to join the other children and pushes her away, but Marie still hangs on. As her mother begins to leave, for her job in a shop, Marie cries, following her out of the building. The mother turns her around, and lifts her back into the classroom. Again, Marie follows her mother out of the room, into the yard, crying. She gets spanked on her rump, and stands in the yard. She sobs for about 10 minutes, without tears, then wipes her eyes and nose with a tissue and sits silently. Joining the other children, she takes a ball from one of the girls and stands, bouncing the ball on the table, sobbing. This day she is wearing a pink knit pair of shorts, pink and white sleeveless shirt, and a pink bow in her hair.

An hour and a half later, she sits at a table with a puzzle before her, not adding any pieces to it. She leaves the puzzle and takes a ball with pieces that fit into geometrically shaped slots. The cook pulls up a chair and sits beside her, trying to help Marie fit pieces into the ball. When the cook returns to the kitchen, Marie looks around for her. She does not place any of the pieces in herself. She walks over to the teacher who asks: "How do you do?" The teacher sits with her as she tries to put pieces into the ball, but Marie does not succeed. Every time an adult leaves, Marie stops working on the puzzle. She puts the puzzle pieces in her mouth, and looks about the room. The kitchen aide returns and again works with Marie. When the bell rings, Marie puts the puzzle, the buttoning bear, and the ball away. She finds a piece of fabric on the table, which she takes to the cook, who gets the *All by Herself* book and shows Marie that the fabric belongs in the pocket of one of the pages.

Throughout the day, Marie shows little effort to work alone. At the end of the school day, she is the last child to be picked up. Her shoes are undone. She sits on the floor fumbling with the tie, and then approaches the observer, silently standing in front of her, but not articulating what she wants. The record notes that Marie "seems to be deprived of experiences or skills attained by the other children." She holds the scissors incorrectly between her thumb and third finger, and tends to pull pieces off of the paper rather than slicing them with the scissors. When asked if she would like to play Lotto, she shakes her head "no." She holds her spoon, at breakfast, with a club-like grasp, shoveling the bites into her mouth.

Marie has a bit more courage in interaction with a few of the other children, however. As she moves toward the doll corner, she is called back by the teacher. She then chases Betty, who sits next to her. The two girls talk briefly while seated. This is the time for all children to sit together, for formal taking of attendance, and other rituals of the morning. Marie responds "present" when her name is called; she does not audibly mouth the morning prayer, but her lips move. Then, as the teacher asks "Who can make a sound like a cat?" Marie and George, sitting at angles to each other, gently slap each other under the table. Neither smiles. Marie does not join in the group in making sounds. Later, Marie takes a block away from George. He takes and slaps her hand, very softly, retrieving his block.

When a larger group is involved, however, Marie can rather easily be pushed out.

It is a rainy day, so apparatus for climbing is set up indoors. Marie moves across the board with caution, smiling on the way down. She does a skip-hop as she goes to the end of the line to wait her next turn. She and another child rock back and forth on a metal piece of apparatus nearby. Her turn comes again, and she crawls on a suspended ladder, dropping through the first opening. Joseph, who

is following her does the same, but the remaining children go clear across. On the next turn, Joseph slides through at the place where the others have; several children push ahead of Marie, who gives up her place in the line and begins to play with a small broken ladder in the corner of the room, near the door. She is the only one not using the climbing apparatus at this time.

By mid-year, the record simply notes that Marie arrives a bit late for the morning--no tears at the door are mentioned. She is into the activities of the school:

Marie mouths several of the words for the group song, but not all of them. Her voice cannot be heard, but she smiles broadly at the end of the song.

She is seated at the table. Her shoes are off, and replaced by red high heels. She is combing the hair of a doll. George takes a broom and briefly sweeps, exchanging some words with Marie, who has dropped her doll on the floor. George moves around Marie in a teasing way. She puts a blue crown on her hair and walks about the room, takes a doll, shows it to the children at the sink, drops it and takes another. Takes it to the sink, quickly washes it, and drops it in the doll bed.

There remains, however, a dependency upon adults to run interference for her. After the teacher gives a lesson in traffic lights, the children are riding various vehicles to practice response to the signals. Marie has a brief ride on the tractor and gives it to another child and goes to the slide. Returning, Marie whines to Charlotte, "I want a ride on that." Charlotte gives her a little ride and takes it back. The teacher then suggests to Marie that she get into a wagon and tells another child to give her a ride. Later, Marie calls the teacher's attention to her difficulties when Yolanda erases what she is drawing on a board. Yolanda keeps erasing it--Marie is much taller than Yolanda and could probably fend for herself.

How others see her:

These patterns were apparently well established at home. Her status as the baby of the family, with two older sisters, and the eldest child a brother, may have contributed. The father is out of the region, working in a large city elsewhere (the city where Marie was born) and does not contribute to the support of the family, but a loving relationship between Marie and the mother's "boy friend" seems to exist. During the home visit, as Marie cried with the appearance of the observer in the home, she was comforted by this man who tenderly knelt down, with his arms around the child. The mother too is very affectionate with Marie, kissing her as the interview went on, putting her arm around and cuddling the child and her body. In return, Marie playfully chews on her mother's cheek.

Both mother and teacher see Marie as quiet, needing a great deal of encouragement, not very independent, unable to do things on her own. The mother claims that she can do many things for herself, dressing herself and so on. She is described by her mother as a "sensible child" who plays well with her siblings, has always eaten well, likes to go to school, but is disappointed that she cannot wear a uniform as her older sisters do. While she cries easily, the mother says that she listens when she is told something, and will probably continue in school, perhaps attending college. The mother sees that Sunday is a study day for all of her children, and helps her children with their reading, using books from the library at school.

Concept of self

Marie's view of the world may have been somewhat changed by her year in Head Start. By June, she is still less than confident in verbalizing responses, mouthing her name when required to state it in order to be given a name card, unable to say the colors when her turn at the chart comes up, standing by the aide with her eyes cast down. But she comes up to the observer, apparently remembering her from the January visit, and volunteers the information that "her mother is at home." She returns, to plait the observer's hair and lean against her, and conversationally notes that "My sister is going to have a birthday party in class." She can hang onto a prized book, one of a set which are in short supply, when other children want it; she sings a song by herself, softly, and claps for herself when finished. She remains confident that adults will help her or will not mistreat her. When one child notices some orange paint on Marie's dress and announces, "Your mother going to beat you." Marie replies, "No, she's not going to beat me . . . no . . ."

Her style:

From the foregoing, it appears that Marie continues to rely upon adults for affectional and emotional dependency needs, yet is moving toward giving them something for what she receives. She is more confident of her capacity to fend for herself, enjoys selected other children, and interacts with them in age appropriate fashion. Her style, as she copes with developmental phases, is fairly direct. She is comfortable in being a female, in its traditional sense, and can ask for indulgence. She seems to be noncompetitive in general, comfortable that she will be taken care of when she needs it. With the other children, she is nonthreatening because she is neither aggressive nor sly in her moves to gain her ends.

What problems does she face?

In the long run, it seems doubtful that she will attain the dream of her mother, that she attend college, because the adults in her home do not seem to have a realistic approach to this little girl, finding it more congenial to their needs to think of her fondly as the "baby" who needs to be comforted, cajoled, or "dealt with". While she no longer cries, she scarcely seems prepared for her new school experience, and has not adapted fully to the less private attention from the adult which will be available as she attends her next school. While she has made great growth in the interpersonal domain, she still has trouble with simple cognitive tasks. She now listens to the others as they call out answers to her, and guesses for the right answer. Marie seems to recognize that it is important to know certain things--colors, numbers, names for things, letters--but she does not know them, and may not be able to catch up.

What has Head Start done for her?

Her year in Head Start has given her the opportunity to relate to friendly adults, other than her mother and the man in the house, and to acquire some of the skills she will be called upon to exhibit. In motor development, she has had opportunity to use equipment and tools not available to her at home. She has acquired some mastery of climbing apparatus. She reflects a more happy state of mind than that she revealed on the initial visit when she was withdrawn and uninvolved. No doubt she has grown more than a year in her functioning level; there is some reason to believe that more focused and individualized experiences could have accelerated her growth even further.

THE CASE OF GEORGE

Birthdate: January 28, 1965

When first seen, George was busy eating breakfast. He keeps at it for half an hour, eating three bowls of cereal and milk, and three muffins which he butters by putting one inch thick slabs on them. He holds his spoon in his fist, but is efficient in getting the cereal in. At one point he puts his feet (without shoes) in several pats of butter which have fallen on the floor. Butter and crumbs are all over George, the floor, and a radius of one foot around his place. During this happy interlude, George spontaneously tells the teacher about his father. His speech is unintelligible and he stammers. The teacher does not answer or look at him. He and a friend then stand on their chairs as they wait for the talkative girls to finish. George fidgets in his chair, gets up and massages the paper mural on the adjacent wall. He is reminded by the teacher that he and the other boys have not been excused.

All of the children in this group seem to be hungry. They are, by visual inspection, very small for their age. George, actually, is one of the tallest children in the group. He weighs 35 pounds, which at 54 months, is more than one standard deviation below the expected weight (mean weight for boys at 54 months is 40.5 pounds). The observer comments on the size of the children, and the teacher laughs: "Tiny, aren't they?" In this economically depressed community, the announcement of meal time causes a big stir in the group.

George is selected by the random method used in this study as the fifth child on the roster. He is a brunette, wearing a flannel shirt, and has a pale sallow complexion, scars on his cheek. A heart defect was diagnosed when he was 4 months old, although his parents had not noticed anything different about him. He was not a blue baby, nor was he less active as a small child. He had open heart surgery last spring, and the physician recommended Head Start, thinking it would be beneficial for him. He made a fair recovery from the operation, although he was kept in intensive care five days, paralyzed on one side of his face for a time because he did not get enough oxygen. There are no restrictions on his activity at this time, but he is reported to be receiving phenobarbitol three times a day to calm him down. This will be discontinued this spring.

When Head Start began, George stayed near adults, frequently finding his way into the lap of a teacher:

> "Here Mary," says George, and hands his roller and a stick across to a boy seated next to the girl beside him. She frowns and tries to take the stick and roller. George takes his dough and sits in the teacher's lap. He smiles, and the teacher shifts his position a little. He pressed dough with the palm of his hand. Three others are at the table, all cutting their dough. George tries to cut his with scissors, and cannot. He continues to sit in the teacher's lap as the director comes in and chats with a girl at the table. George holds up half of his dough for a friend to admire. He goes back to try to cut, still unsuccessfully.

In many ways, George seems to be quite dependent and immature. The record for one morning centers on his inability to get his boots off and once removed, to get his shoes from them; then he can't find the boots again when they are needed for a trip to the orchard.

> "George, how about taking your boots off?" the teacher asks. George smiles, gets off her lap and goes to the rug and immediately tried to take them off, with a great struggle, finally getting them off by

pulling his shoes off. He gives up trying to get his shoes out and goes to the record player. He sits two minutes, smiles, then runs out into the hall, without shoes. Later in the morning, he comes upon the boots again, and comes up to the observer, hugging her, and saying, "These my boots." He tries again, unsuccessfully, to get his shoes out.

The next day is the same story. When it is time to get on the bus, the teacher gets George's boots, takes the shoes out of them. George sits on a chair and stretches out his legs, "Wanta boot, wanta boot," he says. The teacher is exasperated. "I gave you boots." George shakes his head. Another teacher comes to the door. "Here is a pair of Head Start boots." She goes to a pile of boots in the closet and sure enough, she has put George's boots back, after helping him on with his shoes. George leaves, with boots. His pants are down to his lower hips. He walks with toes pointing in - shifts his weight somewhat clumsily. He smiles briefly as he leaves. His shoes are very stiff, and brand new plastic.

The inability to cope with the demands of the day is seen in his dealing with other children, too:

Boy in blue shirt says to George, "Come on, fight with me." George yells, comes over to the observer, speaks unintelligibly and points to the assaulting boy, twice. He holds onto his phonograph records. Neither teacher is in the room. The boys run into the hall. George returns, runs to the observer and hugs her.

After lunch: As the observer enters the room, George is sobbing behind the post of a closet. A teacher from the other room asks him what the matter is. He takes his head from his arm and answers, "He . . . !," but it is unintelligible.

By spring, George is making strides in his ability to get in with the others. Not always successfully, but he shows complacency in the face of rebuff, and keeps on trying:

"I makin' boat," says George, as he brings large building blocks to the mattress. He throws himself on the floor with four other boys and vigorously swims. They then pretend to catch a whale, and return to the aide, who describes the whale. George smiles but does not join the talk. Boat building continues. Children are putting blocks around the mattress. George smiles as he rushes back and forth. Twice he skips; he laughs aloud. He brings a board, "Make a side," he says. (slide?)

Meantime, the children and the aide have climbed into the structure, but George keeps bringing plywood boards. He tosses in a board, and smiles as the children run to patch up the hole it has made. He then tosses three boards, bangs a boy's hand. The boy doesn't protest, but tosses the board out.

"The boat is ruined," says the aide. Meantime, George joints a splinter group who have decided to build a house. George and two girls continue to build the house, the others having left for the slide. George falls twice with the heavy block he is carrying.

Before the game ends, the boys have returned, the house is demolished, George tries to repair it, but does not understand how to make the roof supports. Allen is brought back by the teacher, who tells the aide that he feels badly that he broke the house. Allen rapidly built a wall of seven blocks which topples. George leaves.

This sustained play, moving through several stages and involving different children, is a mark of real growth for this little boy. Let us turn to an evaluation of his year.

Child's View of Himself:

By year's end, George seems to have changed from seeing himself as a helpless, and perhaps, "breakable" child, to a more normal status. He does not require assurance that he has not hurt himself when he falls, and picks himself up without drawing attention to himself. He is no longer careful not to roughhouse, and participates enthusiastically with boys. He is much more able to look after himself, although he still seems less able to feed himself neatly or dress himself than most of the children. His quest for mastery is still largely directed toward controlling the adults around him, but he does not seek a continual ration of physical affection from them.

In fact, he sometimes tests adult authority, and seems to enjoy the thrill of minor infractions of the rules, even though he still lacks the automony of the highly independent boys in his group, but sees himself as a boy and no longer depends upon girls for his playmates.

How does the world see and feel about him?

The mother, at year's end, continues to worry about her first born son's health. "He gets tired and cranky sometimes, and doesn't eat. He'll be off the phenobarb in June. Couldn't be tested for hearing at the school there was so much noise. Couldn't tell the examiner which way the 'E' went for the eye test. Guess he has to be tested again. He won't see the surgeon again till November. Doctor's say his health is good." But she doesn't sound too sure. She is busy with three little ones and really doesn't know much about him as a person. She notes that he plays with the 3 year old sister, and fights with his 2 year-old brother, who is more aggressive than he. And there is a pet rabbit, which he likes to feed. Five cats, but he doesn't pay any attention to them.

The teachers are positive in their comments on his growth in handling himself. When he started school he cried when anyone touched him, bumped into him, or a block would fall. Now when he cries it is a soft cry. The teacher says, "I look and smile, and he smiles as if to say, 'I'm doing it again."

The teacher also sees that he loves to be like the "big boys" and that they are beginning to let him in. He seems to be attached to all the teachers. She is worried about his speech, though, and wishes that he could have another year of Head Start, and help from a speech therapist.

Another teacher says he comes happy, every day. Very, very seldom misses a day. He's always outside, ready. He tries to do what the others are doing, even when he can't. Doesn't tire out like he did. Sliding on the hill all the time, usually with rough-housing boys. And loves to be in the big muscle room. But he is too immature to settle down to anything like reading, writing. He hasn't tried anything like counting, writing his name, or doing shapes and colors. He has a rather short attention span and never finishes what he starts. Conversation? If he's excited about something he'll talk. Otherwise he talks only if he wants something. She, and other teachers, question his hearing.

Sometimes he acts as a leader for two girls. George seems to be a rather sweet and gentle child who could be quite vulnerable to rejection from the other children. They do not seem to take advantage of him, however.

What is the child working on?

George has shifted from demanding nurturance from the adults to the more normal one of working on acceptance from his peers, particularly the boys. He patterns his behavior on chosen classmates:

> George joins Stuart and two other boys in the sandbox. One by one they leave sand loading and go to the slide. One of them shrieks, "Ah, ah," and waves his arms as he approaches the slide. George, following, shrieks, "Ah, ah," and waves his arms. He takes his place in line with fifteen others at the slide.

George has made strides in coordination and in the range of activities it is possible for him to do, approaching the normal vigor and level of functioning of a five year old boy. There are possibilities that he is motorically impaired, however. His shuffling and awkward gait, his difficulty in feeding himself, and his inability to cut suggest a psychomotor problem.

What is his "style"?

George shows zest and enthusiasm for the opportunities for active play equalled by few children. He does not evade the things he cannot do well, and continues to struggle over them (i.e., cutting). He often smiles, skips, and seems to be almost gay:

> George is building with blocks hurrying with the materials needed. The pace of the girls is much slower. They announce they will make steps. George brings small boards, and puts on the larger one he has balanced. The whole roof falls in. The girls repeat the procedure, the structure collapses again. "Ho, Ho, Ho," says George, as he brings more small blocks.

As noted earlier, he does risk violating adult wishes, in small ways:

> "Be a good boy and finish," says the cook. George does not resume eating immediately, then starts eating, spilling, not looking at his food, surveying the room. Again problems in getting cereal into his mouth. "I gonna go bathroom Mary." "O.K., come right back, and I don't want to have to chase you." George leaves, but does not return; he has gone upstairs to the Big Muscle Room.

Adjustment problems?

The question of residual damage from the operation, or from some earlier time, remains. When phenobarbital medication is suspended, his behavior should be carefully studied. Unfortunately, this will be after the program ends. There is a real question if he can participate in an academic kindergarten program.

His speech impairment of unknown paramaters is a limiting factor also. He is expressive, and has no trouble now making his wants known and getting adults to respond to him. But his vocabulary and the complexity of the language at his disposal are limited.

His mother is busy, with three younger children, and really has her hands full. It is doubtful if she can give any sustained individual attention to this little boy.

What are George's assets?

Despite her very real time limitations, however, George's mother gets him ready every day, on time, and sees that he gets to school. She herself volunteers frequently, and is reported to be very skilled with the younger children.

George's dependency upon adults apparently was styled in a manner which led them to respond warmly, instead of seeking to push him away. And he is apparently successfully employing this same skill in appropriate ways to win a place in the peer group, as a full fledged partner on some occasions, as welcomed tagger-after on others.

What has Head Start done?

For one thing, Head Start provided a good nourishing breakfast for this hungry child, and a lunch which he enjoyed, if somewhat less voraciously. The teachers were fond of him, and concerned about him, yet they did not smother him with protection from physical exertion, nor did they overwhelm him with curricular demands for which he was not ready. They would like to see him in Head Start another year: "No need for this kind of pressure on him."

The family lives far out in the country, and there are no other children his age for him to play with. Head Start provided a set of playmates not so rivalrous and demanding as his aggressive little brother at home. And he has had opportunity to relate to a larger environment. His world seems to have been enlarged through his participation in the program when he has found acceptance and has made great strides.

What more could be done?

George's problems may lie most closely in the physical realm, and it is to be hoped that he receives a very systematic check on some of the areas which remain questionable - eyes, ears, and intactness of his psychomotor system. There is evidence pointing to residual motor problems. Certainly his speech problem should be thoroughly investigated.

CASE OF TRACY

Birthdate: July 24, 1966

In contrast with the marked change seen in many children during the year in Head Start, the changes noted in Tracy must be regarded as rather minimal. A comparison of the recurring patterns of behavior portray a few rather subtle shifts, but much is static. (School was closed at the time of the winter visit.)

FALL	SPRING
Affectionate with cat	Affectionate with cat
Has chronic tonsillitis	Has chronic tonsillitis
Mother and father do not come to school	Mother comes to school
Dishevelled in appearance	Dishevelled in appearance
Ignores teacher instructions	Replies with one word
Ignores adult attempts to interact	Occasionally responds non-verbally
Refuses to eat	Eats efficiently
Seen as competent in creative activities-cutting and pasting	Seen as messy, assets unknown
Skillful in creative activities	Skillful in creative activities
Turns away from adults	Interacts non-verbally
Prefers solitary activities	Prefers parallel and solitary activities
Shows positive feelings in facial expression	Shows positive feelings in facial expression
Gets paint on clothing, face, arms, hair and shoes	Gets paint on clothing, face, arms, hair and shoes
Teachers say they do not know Tracy	Seen as restless and uncooperative
Shakes her head in lieu of yes or no	Tracy talks to younger children
	Shakes her head in lieu of yes or no

To flesh out the foregoing summary statements, the record itself pictures Tracy as a blond, blue-eyed child of slight build, with wispy hair tied back in a pony tail. She is wearing a T-shirt and red pants. She grabs the aide's thumb on the way to breakfast and giggles with delight. Puts her finger in her mouth on the way to breakfast. The aide tells her she must turn around at breakfast, She is watching the adjacent table and does not respond. She rocks in her chair, her pony tail in the cereal. The aide once again tells her to turn around. She continues to watch the children at the adjacent table and ignores the aide during the entire meal.

On the playground, Tracy starts to throw sand at C. at the foot of the slide. He protests mildly, gets off. When she perceives that he is going toward the steps, she hurries and gets in front of him.

By this time, she has paint on her T-shirt, especially sleeves and front. She blocks B. on the slide. She leaves and is alone on the playground, mostly swings various children. She goes up and down the slide without speaking to the children who are with her.

She sits alone eating her picnic lunch. The bus driver comes and calls "Westridge." Tracy comes immediately, grabs her jacket and puts it on as she walks along. She gives up on putting it on. She has red paint on her face and hair. She runs to get in line before A. As she gets into the station wagon she does not have her jacket on. She waits, not talking to the children on either side of her, making squealing noises to herself. The teacher asks her to get out and helps her on with her jacket.

By spring, the same little girl is readily recognizable:

Tracy eats very little: two spoons of corn, a half piece of bread and a small potato. She leaves her meat and refuses dessert. She is in constant motion. Tips her chair and tumbles backward. She refuses to give her name as the observer asks around the table. The observer talks to her anyway and tells her that she is going to visit her house to see her mother.

Tracy takes her turn on the slide with others. She sits down with a little girl, and fixes her shoes. The other girl takes hers off, and Tracy talks to her, telling her not to take her shoes off. Tracy stands under the slide and taps it as the children come down. S. is blocking the bottom step by sitting on it. Tracy tries to go up the ladder around her. She is now alone in the grass. She falls into the long grass and rolls in it. The others have left, responding to the teacher's call that it is time to go home.

Tracy gets the shovel and shovels sand by the swings. She then joins the group getting ready to leave, trailing behind them. She kicks a cap that is lying on the ground.

Sent by an aide to get her clothes (they have become wet and soiled) she goes in and gets a bag with her clothes and returns, followed by the aide. Tracy then gets into the car, with a solemn expression on her face. She sits very still. She is very dishevelled, paint on half of her arms and face, and on her shoes. The clean sweater is now soiled.

Her view of the world:

There is a good deal of indirect evidence that Tracy must shift for herself at home, in a setting with 4 children older (twin girls aged 6, a boy and a girl eight and ten) and a younger half-sister, the child of a current marriage. In fact, she is seen at home as a good helper, because the twins create a storm and are more trouble than help. Apparently she has learned to quietly carry out what she wants to do rather than make any demands. She seems most comfortable with younger children, and prefers the company of girls. She functions without much supervision from adults to enforce rules, and is somewhat compliant. However, she still often ignores adults and does not realize the annoyance she incurs.

She has come to regard the other children with interest but she speaks rather seldom to them. Very often she pulls off to one side, placing herself in the vicinity of an activity. She seldom responds to direct questions from either adults or children, but will follow up on the idea presented.

How others see her:

Others see Tracy rather vaguely. The adults at school recognize her interest and relative skill in cutting and pasting, and her preference for painting over other activities. She will not talk, and they are bothered by this and by her refusal to eat.

The teacher sees her as obedient and independent. Later in the year she observes that she cannot supervise Tracy, and seems not to have control over her. She loves water play and will pour by the hour. When the teacher tries to talk to her or get her to stop, she ignores the request. The teacher thinks maybe poor hearing accounts for her lack of response. She will have a hearing test soon. The water play and painting are of concern because Tracy's father is so upset when she comes home dirty or wet. The teacher feels that Tracy is not ready to go into kindergarten because she will not pay any attention to you. She doesn't seem to listen.

Another teacher notes that she does very little table activity. If she does get into something, however, she's "all the way." This teacher drives her to and from school. Daily she tries to start a conversation, but has never succeeded. She notes that Tracy never asks for help. If she gets in a fix, "I will go and offer my assistance." During winter, after toothbrushing, she would dress herself. She often dressed with boots backwards and snowpants backwards but never asked for help.

The mother sees Tracy as happy at school. On the whole, she finds it hard to describe Tracy and what she does. She plays and doesn't play with the twins. She plays and doesn't play with the girl next door. She and her younger sister (R.) play and fight. She is very fond of the dog, but would let it starve. She will play with the cat - loves the cat - and the cat will scratch, but she can't leave it alone. She won't listen.

Style of response:

In her style of approach, Tracy seems to have developed techniques of interaction whereby the adults expect very little of her. She is self-sufficient, does not verbalize her needs, yet does seem to seek affection in extremely subtle ways which are not picked up by those around her. Because she is so undemanding, she is largely ignored by others. She now seeks companionship of girls other than her sisters, and seems to have developed fairly even patterns of interaction with her younger sister with whom she cannot compete in attractiveness and acceptability to the father. Even the mother makes unfavorable comparisons between them: "Pretty soon the brook behind the house will be swampy and Tracy will get into it anyway. The younger sister won't."

Overall, her non-verbal patterns tend to irritate adults, and she seems unwilling to break this pattern, perhaps because of lack of persistence from any one person. She radiates pleasure when attention is given to her, and perhaps pursues her incessant painting because it has succeeded in getting approval for her at one time. She is seen as uncooperative, however, because of her reluctance to involve herself in the group and do what the others do.

She manages to deploy her time and get through the days without making waves. She is well accepted now by her peers. Since she peaked early in the program in competency with the demands of the model, there may be little that is beyond her skills. Her paintings show remarkable variety and sense of form. But she has abdicated a large segment of experience by her refusal to participate on a verbal level and her preoccupation with painting may be compensatory.

Tracy has grown and is well coordinated. She still appears thin but is quite vigorous in comparison with the other girls in the group. She still spends large amounts of time in solitary, sedentary activities which do not require her to expend energy. Her energy level is probably affected by her chronic tonsil condition.

What has Tracy been working on this year?

There has been some move toward greater openness of expression, but her verbal ability remains a mystery to those around her. Through a home visit it was learned that she talks in a normal fashion with her sister, but this behavior is never in evidence at school. It seems as if there is a basic distortion in her relatedness to adults which takes this negativistic form. Doubtless, a standard intelligence test will not reveal her capacity and she would be classified as untestable, as in the physical exam when she refused to cooperate with the physician, leaving her hearing ability in question.

Adjustment problems faced by this child:

Caught between a pair of rambunctious twins and a younger sister who is the only one of her siblings to be a product of this marriage, Tracy tends to be left out at home, and regarded as something of an unknown. The picture of her behavior shows her tending to be much within the family circle, with few outside contacts, yet not much is expected of her in the way of responsible behavior. Her disheveled appearance is testimony to neglect (the younger sister is clean and combed as she comes to school, Tracy is not), yet at the same time, she contrives to become messy and soiled in a short time while at school. Her need for replacement clothing is one way she gets attention from the adults there.

The question about her hearing, and the postponement of the tonsilectomy, add to the concerns about the physical status of this child.

Her strengths:

Tracy seems to have sufficient intellectual endowment to function comfortably in the school setting, and despite her generally uncooperative and non-verbal behavior, there is no doubt that she will be promoted to kindergarten. There is a real possibility that removal of the tonsils will permit her to change dramatically, in hearing and in vitality; as the teacher says: "If the tonsil thing is the basis for her problems, she will bloom." The teacher also acknowledges the strength of the child: "She gets along in her situation. She's not unhappy here." Her paintings are noteworthy, and perhaps this talent will bring her attention for real accomplishment.

What has Head Start done for her?

Tracy enjoys school, and is reported by her mother to talk about it, to be proud of her pictures. She has little real opportunity to play with children other than her sisters, so the Center has given her a more balanced array of playmates. She has gained from the use of large muscle equipment (slide, tricycles, jumping) and perfected her already unusual skill in fine muscle control (painting, cutting, drawing). The Mother is beginning to become interested and involved in Head Start, and is defending the school to the father who sharply criticizes the messy condition in which Tracy returns home. He has been in the home much of the winter because his union is on strike.

What more might be done?

It would seem that this shy and unsure child might profit from being assigned to a single teacher as the primary person with whom she could interact at school. She rarely is with her own teacher because she prefers the creative activity room, and that teacher in charge there does not feel personal responsibility for Tracy.

Her response to the observer in a private interview session with puppets and paints would lead one to feel that she would rather quickly form a good relationship with a responsive and concerned adult.

Health services are in short supply in this rural area, and the Head Start people believe that no medical people are interested in these poor children. The only service available to the Center now is a visit from a nurse once a month, and no doctor or dentist is available to give shots or inspect teeth. Tracy is obviously in need of medical attention with the chronic infection of her tonsils.

Three of the children observed in this model have some speech problem. M. seldom talks, one cannot be understood and one has some articulation problem. It is possible that some remedial work could be arranged. At present, the expressive language of the children is not a focus of interest to the teachers.

THE CASE OF ROBBIE

Birthdate: April 4, 1966

The class was seated in a circle for Talk Time. Robbie raised his hand first and asked, "May I talk, Mr. J.?" With the teacher's consent, the following dialogue took place:

Robbie: "Have you ever had a pancake with pineapples on it?"
The class shook their heads, "No."

Robbie: "Have you ever tasted apple pie, cherry pie, lemon pie, lime pie?"
The class shook their heads, "Yes."

Robbie: "Have you ever had Belle pie or Robbie pie?"
The class giggled and said, "No."

Belle: "Have you ever had Dr. Blue (the observer) pie?"
The class giggled and said, "No."

Mr. J.: "What did you have for breakfast, Robbie?"

Robbie: "A gorilla, but I took the hair off!" The class laughed.

Belle: "I had Dr. Blue's breakfast!" The class laughed.

Mr. J. then called on other pupils to talk during Talk Time. This rich play with language, and ideas provides a fairly accurate picture of this delightful Mexican-American child, oldest in a family of three sons. The dialogue captures also his catalytic role in sending other children into happy laughter and further play with words. He asks permission to speak first, he shares the floor with others, and sparkles as the game progresses. He also can turn it off, when the time comes. This little show followed a disappointment which might have caused another child to become belligerent or pouting:

> Mr. J. asks, "Who shall I select to squirt the bathroom (with spray deodorizer)? Someone who did a good job with the shapes and colors. Mark, let's choose you." M. took the can and proceeded to spray the bathroom. Robbie said, "But, Mr. J., I did a good job." The teacher answered, "Yes, Robbie, you did. I'll choose you another time."

Frequently throughout the record, Robbie is seen to display humor which tends to bring the group together, rather than to poke fun at his own classmates:

> The kindergarten children had come into the class to show their paper bag masks. After they left, Robbie said, "We should make bat masks and scare the kindergarten." Mr. J. remarked, "We should be friendly to them." Robbie added, "O.K., we can be friendly bats!" Everyone laughed.

He can laugh at himself, too:

> Robbie was running. He slipped and fell on the floor. He looked up and said, "Who made me slip?" The observer answers teasingly, "I did, Robbie!" They both laughed. He got up and ran over to the Rocking Boat.

His days are made more interesting because of his vivid imagination, fantasies which illustrate his ability to incorporate information into an expansion of reality, without incoherence:

> Robbie was pretending to talk to a friend on the play telephone. He hung up the phone and confides to the observer: "My friend wants me to go somewhere with him. When I'm twelve, I'll go to Hawaii, California, Mexico, and Cowboyland – all those far away places." Belle added, "And he's going to take me along." They both smiled.

* * * * *

> Mr. J. asks: "What are you going to be at Hallowe'en?" Robbie answers, "I'm going to be Frankenstein!" He hunched his shoulders, dangled his arms, showed his teeth, messed up his hair, crossed his eyes, rocked back and forth on his feet, and growled. The class screamed and giggled.
>
> Later he comments, "I saw a werewolf on T. V. It goes like this!" He raises his arms and wrinkled his face. "Doesn't a werewolf smile?" the observer asks. "Heck, no!" Robbie exclaimed. Then he mimicked a bat, saying, "This is the way a bat goes!" After his impersonation of a bat, he stated, "One time I saw a real bat and I scared it away!"

What is his concept of self?

The preceding anecdotes illustrate a child with broad, slapstick sense of humor, who is a keen observer and not in any sense inhibited in his eager approach to life. Besides imitating animals, he acted "drunk" one day as the children were lining up, to the pleasure of all his classmates. He accepts others, knows the names of all the Head Start teachers in the building (4 classes), has many friends, yet enjoys one special friend, a girl. He can risk reaching out to others, and seems to feel protective, but not bound, to his younger brother. On one occasion his younger brother visits the classroom. He plans how he will play with him outside, yet once outdoors, he busies himself elsewhere:

> Robbie and Belle were sitting together, and he put his arm around her. They planned what they would do outside when they play together. Robbie said, "We'll let my brother push us and we'll roll down the hill." At this moment, Belle tapped Robbie's brother on the shoulder. Robbie responded, "Stop picking on my brother." Belle smiled and answered, "I'll hit you, too, Robbie!" The children then got ready to go outside. When Robbie and his brother got outside to the playground, Robbie did not stay with his brother. He crawled through the concrete pipes, and walked on top of the pipes with the other boys. Once inside again, he lay on the mat, resting with his brother. They held one another's hands, but did not talk.

How do others feel about him?

Adults and children seem to relate well to Robbie who is amusing and very verbal, without personalized aggression. On rare occasions, however, he makes cutting remarks, but seems without rancor, and can get away with it:

> Mr. J. asked, "Mark, what color is this triangle?" Mark did not know the answer. Robbie answered, "That triangle is red. My pants are black. My shirt is gray, and your sweater is NAVY BLUE!"

His parents hope he will become a doctor, lawyer, or teacher. They appreciate the Head Start program because Robbie is learning to read, and to be more aware, and he goes home and teaches his brother what he learns at school. They apparently are able to care for him, and must have given him a good start in both socio-emotional and intellectual bases of behavior. He is always clean and well dressed when he comes to school.

His teacher recognizes the unusual abilities of this child, but does not seem to distort his relationship to him in any way, neither asking too much, nor indulging him because he is so willing and able to please.

What is Robbie working on this year?

The intellectual challenges of the program attract Robbie, and he works eagerly.

> Robbie and Belle had several hundred tiny plastic objects – boats, motor-cycles, people, etc. They worked together placing the similar objects in appropriate piles. I asked them what they were doing. Robbie said, "We are classifying." They continued to work. Other children were not able to classify as rapidly and accurately as they.

* * * * *

> Robbie was working with classifying the tiny plastic objects with another boy. The boy wanted to place all of the objects into a box. Robbie said, "No, you don't play fair." He proceeded to place the red objects in a red container, the green in a green container, etc.

He is also well aware of his bilingual background, and finds ways to differentiate English and Spanish.

> Robbie raised his hand to count. When the teacher recognized him, he stood up and rapidly counted to 5. Then he said, "I can count in Spanish, too! Uno, duo, . . ." The class applauded, he smiled and sat down.

* * * * *

> Robbie was working with the Talking Pages. He looked up and asked the observer, "Do you know my whole name?" He then gave his full name in English and then in Spanish.

He is able to ask for help, appropriately, and knows the functions of adult helpers. On one occasion, for example, when he was asked to turn the lights on after rest time, he was unable to make the switch function. After two tries, he came back and said, "Mr. I. (the custodian) will have to fix it. It doesn't work." He did not smile, and went to sit down.

On two other occasions, however, he was hurt by other children, but did not ask for help. A child ran over his foot with a tricycle wheel, and Robbie left his wagon and started to cry, quietly. The aide, Miss S. comforted him. After this, he capitalizes on his injured state, perhaps, by announcing that he wants to ride the RED bike, the RED one. Other bikes were not being used, but he waited until the red tricycle was free. On the second incident, sand was thrown in his mouth, probably accidentally.

> Robbie and another boy were throwing sand at one another. Robbie opened his mouth when the other boy threw sand, and got some in his mouth. He spit several times. Mr. J. asked the children to line up to go inside. He asked Robbie three times, "Come on, Robbie." Finally, he had to go after him. Robbie held back from the end of the line. As he walked up the steps, he skipped steps and said, "I can walk up more than one step." Then he spit in the hall. G. was shaking sand out of her shoes in the hall. Robbie hit her. She just looked at him, and he went on into the classroom.

Apparently he handles his discomfort, or anger, rather directly, even if the target is not exactly appropriate.

What is his style?

In appearance, he is described as "possessing a healthy handsomeness, with dark eyes, dark hair, and a ready smile. His personality is winsome." He is no paragon of virtue, but brings a bounce and a boyish good humor that makes obstacles melt, somehow. He seems accustomed to success in everything, and is unhappy when he fails or when things do not go exactly his way. However, after a momentary set-back, he adjusts quickly. Robbie recognizes expectations and adapts immediately.

Adjustment problems?

There seem to be no problems which seem beyond the capacity of this child to cope with.

Assets?

Robbie seems to be a well-nourished child in good health, with normal sensory acuity. He is attractive both physically and socially, and is willing to spread his good fortune to others. While his knowledge and maturity surpass that of the other class members, he helps slower children, and seems not to wish to take advantage of them. The record gives no details about his family but he apparently is fortunate in having parents who gave him much to start with. His sense of humor is a great asset.

What has Head Start done for him?

During the school year, Robbie has functioned consistently in all areas. He has grown and developed tremendously, and possesses the native capacity to the fullest from the Head Start program. The record summarizes his year:

> Intellectually, Robbie is at the top of his class. He goes beyond expectations in all learning tasks. He follows directions easily, and if he encounters difficulties, he asks questions and then persists until he

has achieved the skills he is working on. He possesses a long attention span, and perceives details in the classroom unnoticed by most of the other class members. He is excited about school. Robbie has exceptional promise.

What more could be done for him?

Apparently Robbie was able to enjoy all of the opportunities for work and play available to him. There is no indication that the program did not provide sufficient challenge for him.

THE CASE OF BELLE

Birthdate: October 2, 1966

Belle is the little girl who confidently expects to travel to Hawaii, California, and Cowboyland with her dear friend Robbie, when he is twelve. She is likewise interested in and affectionate toward other males, the teacher and the observer, and it is quite possible that she'll manage to get to faraway places. Her parents are more realistic, perhaps. Her family aspires for her "to be something great" but they feel she will probably "just want to be a housewife."

At the outset, she seems to be an outgoing, reacting and busy child. In the first few minutes during the observer's visit, the following notes are made:

> Belle was running with several other children, outside on the playground. She stopped, hesitated, and then smilingly came over, saying, "I fell and hit myself here! (she pointed to her chin) June tripped me at home. She's my sister. I have a little baby sister, too. Her name is Mary." She looked aside and saw the teacher playing with some of the children. She smiled and turned back to me, hid her face behind her hands, and commented, "Mr. J. is looking for me!" She lowered her hands and ran over to Mr. J. She kissed him and ran back to me. "I kissed Mr. J.," she remarked with a big smile. About this time a car drove by the playground and the driver honked his horn. She said immediately, "My daddy honks his horn in the station wagon." She smiled and ran off to play.

She investigates the observer, inquiring if his moustache comes off, if he is wearing a wig, and if he can see without his glasses. She invites him to rest with her and sees that he fits into the Head Start routines:

> The children were lined up ready to get on the school buses to go home. Belle was last in line. She smiled and yelled to me, "Get in line." After I got in line she grabbed my arm. I bent over and she giggled and whispered in my ear, "If you don't stay in line Mr. J. will get you." As she walked out the door, she turned around and blew me a kiss, smiled and waved good-bye.

> Her energies are extended to include looking after the other children, too.

> During punch and cookie time, she picked up the trash can and walked around collecting the paper cups. Each time a classmate deposited his cup, she stated, "Thank you," and smiled. She collected all the cups and returned the plastic trash container to its place.

For the most part, she is independent and prides herself on being able to do things alone. At lunch, when the aide handed out the milk cartons, she took hold of hers, looked up at the observer, and said, "I can open the milk myself." Then she opened the carton without any help, put the straws in, and began to sip. But she can also ask for help for herself, or for extra affectionate attentions. Twice in the record she requests help with the zipper of her coat, once from the observer and once from the teacher. On another occasion she asks for help with her belt from the teacher. At another time, she leaves the wagon, in which she is pulling two boys, approaches the teacher, and pulling at his sleeve asks, "Mr. J., lift me up and hold me." He picks her up and held her several moments. Then he put her down, and Belle ran back to the wagon, smiling.

What is her concept of herself?

Belle is one of the youngest in a family of 13 children. She seems to be working on striking a balance between dependency and independence and uses the adult males for the most part, in playing the part of being helpless and affectionate. With peers she tends to be the mamma herself, frequently giving orders, or taking care of them. It may, indeed, be hard for her to find an appropriate balance in this large family in which she is growing up. She is confident that she will be accepted in whatever mode she presents herself, and seems not to consider the possibility of failure.

How do others regard her?

Her Mother sees her as an active child, a "Big Mother" who is creative in her play. Whereas the teacher sees Belle as verbally gifted, her mother views her as "not talking too much." Her mother is pleased that Head Start is preparing her daughter for kindergarten by teaching her the alphabet, teaching her how to write her name and helping her to overcome her shyness, and easing her into kindergarten experiences next year. Her aspirations for Belle have already been noted.

Her teacher provides a gentle understanding of her. He accepts her affectionate displays and yet sets some limits on her more open flirting or twisting of his role:

> Belle was working with the Talking Pages. Mr. J. was standing behind her. On the record, Peter Pointer instructed Belle to turn the page. She looked up at Mr. J., smiled and said, "Turn the page, Daddy." He did not acknowledge the remark. At the end of the next page, Belle repeated, "Turn the page, Daddy." Again Mr. J. did not respond to her. She touched his hand and said, "You have warm hands!" He answered, "Listen to the Talking Pages, Belle." She turned back to the Talking Pages.

It seemed impossible for the observer to stay out of Belle's world. She seeks him out and devised many ways to engage him in her activities. On the second visit, she confides that Mr. J. had told the children he would be coming today. "I looked for you when I got off the school bus today. Then I looked for you in the office." At lunch, she ate quietly, lowering her eyes and then raising them, as if to peep at him. Each time she smiles, but she did not say anything.

Her special friend, Robbie, seeks her out, and she responds with a fine balance of yielding and teasing. As the children line up to lunch, Belle is in front of Robbie. She takes his hands and puts them around her waist. The two walked together joined like this back to the classroom. On another occasion, however, as they were lying next to each other on the floor during rest period, Robbie asked, "Do you know she's my girl friend?" Belle answered, "I'm not no more!" Both laughed.

What is this child working on?

Finding some balance between being helpless and being independent, as previously noted, has absorbed this little girl. She is also working on finding her place in the family. One day the teacher asked Belle, "Can you tell us the names of all your brothers and sisters?" Belle gave ten names. Then she scratched her head, crossed her legs and said, "I got a whole bunch." The teacher complimented her, "That was very good Belle."

After the first visit however, Belle seldom mentioned her family. Perhaps she was so engaged in developing a relationship with the observer that she did not need to use them in her conversations, preferring to deal with specific questions about him. For example:

> After sleep time, Belle asked me, "What did you buy in the grocery store when Mr. J. took us for Tootsie Rolls?" The observer responded, "Tortillas." "What else?" she inquired. "A doughnut." Belle smiled and said, "I saw you eat it!" Then she pushed her finger on the observer's nose and giggled.

She seems able to handle the expectations of school in learning to match, work puzzles, respond to the questions of the Talking Pages, and so on. In fact, it is suggested that she peaked early in the year on these tasks, and her enthusiasm for school begins to diminish. "Whereas earlier in this year Belle was always first to finish intellectual tasks, by the end of the year she was lagging behind or letting tasks go unfinished. Belle no longer seemed as excited about or stimulated by her school experience."

Her style?

During all three observations, Belle consistently preferred adult male company and expressed her affection by kissing, hugging, holding hands, conversing and complimenting. The second most constant characteristic was her affection for her friend Robbie. She and Robbie were companions during play, rest, and the learning exercises. Belle smiled and laughed easily in her class. From the beginning of the school year until the end she followed directions; obeying rules; understood tasks on her own; and exerted initiative. She tended to give orders to the other children and to correct their behavior, but over-all she seemed to play cooperatively with them and to be liked by them.

Adjustment problems?

It is quite natural that this little girl would be seeking a spot all of her own, placed as she is toward the end of a large family. Her open and direct approach to adult males, as well as to an agemate, may or may not become a problem for her. At the present time, she apparently handles her affectional needs in such a way that the males involved are pleased by her approaches to them. She is clever, and gives freely to them in ways which bring out tenderness and companionable responses. She is not, in other words, a drag.

Because of her extremely feminine outlook, adults may not recognize the solid competence of this little girl. The record suggests that she becomes restless and bored when not challenged, and will need a more concerted effort to keep her moving in intellectual areas. The observer notes:

> Although she was sometimes amusing in the group, she also began to mock and mildly threaten her peers. A mild kind of withdrawal appeared to be taking place in Belle, or she was returning to the group shyness that had characterized her adjustment to the other children at the beginning of the year.

Assets?

Belle is physically very attractive, "beautiful in appearance, with flashing brown eyes, long black hair, and a ready smile. Her personality is engaging."

Her parents manage to keep her in good physical condition, despite the large brood they have to care for. When she comes to school, Belle is always cleanly attired in the "hand-me-down clothes" from her older sisters. She seems to be in good health, and well endowed physically.

She has a good mind, and has developed successful means of interacting with others, including adequacy in speech, both in English and Spanish.

What has Head Start done for her?

Her mother is pleased with the opportunity Head Start has given to prepare this child for success in kindergarten, through giving her familiarity with the tasks of school. She has enjoyed the companionship of other children near her own age, and the kindly interest of a teacher whom she likes very much. She has enjoyed, and was apparently equal to, the intellectual challenges of the program. This typical anecdote suggests her mastery of what is expected, as well as her relationship to another child:

> Belle and Sally were working with the tiny colored plastic objects. Mr. J. asked, "What are you girls doing?" They answered in unison, "Classifying." Sally placed some red objects in the large container. Belle said, "No, that's not right!" Sally removed the red objects and said, "I'm sorry." Belle yelled and smiled, "Hurry up. Put them over here." Sally put them in the smaller red container.

What more could be done?

Perhaps Belle needs to be given special attention in terms of the demands made upon her intellectually. Without this kind of challenge, she tends to become demanding and to regress in her behavior. Such a challenge might also help her to find other ways of relating to males, without undue emphasis on physical reassurances from them.

THE CASE OF TOBY

Birthdate: April 4, 1966

Toby is a bright child, the older of two boys, who is ahead of the other children in everything except in getting along with people. By October, he has caused so much trouble on the bus that the driver has threatened not to let him ride the bus anymore. He is said to relate equally well with boys and girls - he hits both and generally does not get along with either.

Thus, his profile is decidedly uneven. He can do many things at the beginning of the year which others could not, such as read, talk well with adults, use "big words accurately, and work silently and without direction. But he could not share equipment, and would have a tantrum if crossed. He could not relate well with most adults, including his teacher, although he was more at ease with adults than with children and child-like things. Books are important to him, and books play a big part in the what relationship he had with his teacher.

Toby was born after several years of marriage and a real question about whether there could be any children. Although he was born prematurely, at 8 months with induced labor - his heart beat had weakened in utero and the doctor thought it best - he is not described as being as big as any child in the group, and appearing older than the others. His development was normal, and his mother describes him as a "very good" baby, although he had a good many colds and ear infections. She still worries about this and says she keeps him in some because of concern about respiratory illness. He appears rather pale.

At this time, the mother and father are divorced, although the father is in the home somewhat, and there is talk of remarriage. The Mother works full time, and Toby goes from Hear Start to a babysitter who looks after 4 other children as well. The mother picks up Toby and his younger brother, who stays all day with the sitter, about 6 o'clock.

The following anecdotes give something of the flavor of his days at school:

Toby moved closer to the teacher when she talked about *The Little Engine That Could,* but he did not move toward any of the children in the group. At the conclusion of storytime, Mrs. F. says, "Put the books away." Toby continued sitting and looking at his book and was alone in the story corner. He was the last one to put his book away. As he did so, he walked past Minna, and pushed her. He made his face look angry or mean.

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Craft time: At first, Toby is off to one side on the floor with another boy, working at puzzle-like materials. Then he chose a fairly isolated place at the table and began coloring on a piece of paper. He drew a well-formed circle and said to the aide, "I am making some teeth, some real sharp teeth." Later, when the aide approached and asked what he was doing, he said he was making a clown. He held up his paper and said, "See my clown." No one responded. A short time later, a boy held up the paper and said, "See my clown." Toby said, "Let me see, let me see." The boy didn't show it to him.

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In cutting paper, Toby was not able to cut well at all (less competent than most of the students in this class). The aide commented to Toby how well she liked the clown picture he drew. Toby made no comment and showed no emotion. He continued to cut paper for a collage, taking much time and cutting in a very precise way. Although he continued to hold the scissors awkwardly, he did seem to become more adept in cutting with each piece. He made a mountain of bits of paper, working silently and alone. When asked by the aide to be her helper and put the pieces in a box, he refused at first, but later, on a second urging, agreed.

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He chose a book. When he took it from the shelf he said, "Zoo, Z,O,O." pointing to the letters.

Toward the end of the year, one sees considerable movement toward other children and increased skill in communicating with them.

He says to others at the table, "My name starts with a T," and he proceeded to print his name on the paper. The other children made no comment. He didn't say much to anyone, but he did listen when others spoke, which was in contrast to earlier behavior. He said softly to others, "I need the red," and one boy tossed him the blue. Toby softly said, "Oh, boy, I haven't had this one yet."

What is his concept of himself?

It would appear that Toby has been building a rather distorted picture of himself as a mind, but not a boy. He is given so much reinforcement by his mother for his intelligence - and quite naturally other adults at school find this noteworthy also - that he is forced into bookish channels. Undoubtedly he resents the greater freedom of action accorded to other children, and finds his pinnacle uncomfortable. He deals with this by being hateful to them. Possibly he resents the pressure on him at home. In fact, it is reported that he sometimes says he wishes he didn't have to go home when his mother calls for him at the baby sitters.

What do others think of him?

Toby was described as bright by the teacher and the tester for the research study who was present at the time of the first visit. The tester thinks Toby to be creative, the teacher does not. She gave as a reason that he doesn't work with arts and crafts. The tester related that in response to the test item "What does the teacher do?" Toby said, "She bites," and indicated dislike for the teacher through body and facial expression. It should be noted that the relationship between Toby and the teacher improved greatly during the year. By the final visit they both seemed to mean a great deal for each other. Toby was never submissive to her, but he became helpful to her, and much more responsive.

Toby's mother describes him as intelligent and outgoing. She emphasizes that he can read second grade books, do arithmetic, knows the alphabet and counts well. She wants him to skip kindergarten and go directly to the first grade. The teacher disputes somewhat the mother's feelings about his ability. Fortunately, the mother has said she will let the teacher decide whether or not he should skip kindergarten. She insists that he gets along well with other children, and altogether, seems unaware or reluctant to consider that he has any problems at all.

What is Toby working on?

Toby came into the group under great pressure from his mother to succeed, and to be "bigger and better" than everyone in everything. During this year in Head Start, Toby seems to be taking a second look at these expectations, and is allowing others to have a share in the spotlight. He is learning to let go, a little, in terms of possessions, as well as expectations.

What is his style?

With adults, he can engage in a little friendly teasing, typical four-year old humor:

Another boy at the table said to Toby, "You are slowest," during a race which included the tester to see who could finish lunch first. Toby turned to the tester with a smile on his face and said, "You are slowest." Actually, he did eat slowly and looked around a lot while eating, but he did not talk with the other children.

By spring, he begins to reach out. In one instance he was seen riding his trike very fast, riding away from the other children and toward the front of the building, near a fairly busy street. This necessitated someone going after him. He seemed to like and want this special attention.

In other ways, he shows the promise of becoming a diverting companion. The class took a long walk. Toby was very talkative and knew a lot of things. He pointed out many items of interest along the way and added greatly to the venture. He expressed things very well, and was helpful to the teacher.

In general, however, Toby must be characterized as a rather sober, serious child who seldom looses his "cool."

What adjustment problems does he face?

Toby remains somewhat unsure of his status, unless he is clearly first and best. This is a demanding role, and he may be very lonesome at times.

The situation in his family is somewhat unsettled, too. The babysitting arrangements had to be changed, and makeshift plans were needed from time to time. Furthermore, Toby's father seems to be definitely out of the picture again, and the Mother is enrolling in the WIN program. In the long run, as she completes her education and becomes more confidently independent, she may become less demanding on Toby. At the present time, however, Toby seems to need and seek male companionship. He was attracted to the (male) observer and to any men who came into the classroom.

What are his assets?

Apparently Toby has a good mind, and may be able to capitalize on his intellectual capacities to good advantage.

What has Head Start done for him?

Both Toby's mother and the observer regard Toby's teacher as unusually capable and aware of his needs. The mother had to put up "quite a fuss" to get Toby in this particular classroom, which she did because she wanted him to have Mrs. F. She values her background and college training.

The teacher had provided some rather special experiences for Toby, in obtaining the volunteer services of a former kindergarten teacher to work with him. Both the volunteer and teacher notice change in Toby's responsiveness to the group and group activities as well as advancement in some areas in which he is already well developed for a four year old - reading and basic arithmetic

Head Start also provided for Toby a social arena in which he could work out some of his more immature responses to other children. By spring, he was still having problems sharing toys and equipment, but real progress had been made.

What more could be done?

Toby has his share of problems, but so far, people seem to be pulling for him. No obvious recommendations can be made.

THE CASE OF ANNIE

Birthday: June 28, 1966

Annie is next to the youngest in a family of six children Her attractive mother is director of a community center in this western city, and, rather understandably, cannot remember too many details about her fifth child's early development, recalling it to be essentially normal. Because of her Mother's job, Annie often comes to the community center and enjoys playing with the teenage young people there. They seem to enjoy her, too.

There seems to be an unusual stability in this child's life. Annie is in the same school from which an older sister graduated two years ago, and has the same teacher, which pleases the Mother very much. Although the father in the home is not the natural parent of any of the children, he has been in the home since Annie was 9 months old, and is reported to do the disciplining (spanking) and to be instrumental in much of the child rearing.

As the record begins, Annie seems to be thoroughly at home in the Head Start classroom. She is the first to arrive, and approaches the observer, to tell him that she likes to iron clothes and help her mother, and to announce, with eyes shining, that she would be going to the circus. She states, loudly, at breakfast that she wants to play with playdough.

> After breakfast: Annie began playing with the new workbench which was on her table. Then she yelled to the teacher, "I want to play with playdough." Mrs. L. got the playdough out, and asked Annie to help her pass out the boards to use under it. Annie begins to work with the material, giggling and laughing with the other children, pounding the dough "determinedly."

She seems to be equally at home with adults and children, announcing her intentions, and stating her impressions. Very often, however, she gets no response either from the teacher, or from the child she has addressed, and tends to her problems herself:

> Annie pulled her shirt sleeve up and said to the teacher, "I have a hurt." The teacher did not respond. She showed the new toys for today, and asked how many holes on the Sifo Peg Board. Annie watched, 'with interest' picking at her 'hurt' which appeared to be an old mosquito bite.

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> Annie announces to the teacher, "We went somewhere to get someone. We went somewhere to get someone. We went with my momma." No further interchange took place.

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> Annie went to the easel, saying to another child there, "I saw you painting and I want to paint." Annie used white paint on black paper, using her left hand. While painting, she moved toward the other child at the easel and said something about her momma, but the other child did not respond.

For the most part, she seems to be self-motivated to continue with a chosen activity, despite the lack of feedback. With the playdough, for example, she stays at the table making tortillas and many other things. She carefully collects little pieces to make a long roll, taking time to do this in an exacting and patient fashion.

Sometimes though, she insists on obtaining a response from others, and uses the almost irresistible style of verbally challenging the listener:

> The aide took black paper off the easel and replaced it with white. Annie says to the aide, "You don't know what this is going to be? A flower," she yelled. She then turned to the child painting at the easel, "You don't know what this is going to be." The other child offered a number of things and to each Annie said, "No Sir!"
>
> Annie used pale green paint to make a rather well shape design. To each person who came by she said, "You don't know what I'm making." Most persons (children) gave no response at all. She then spoke to the aide who was working with another child at the easel, "Will you show me something?" The aide showed her how to twist the brush around to make a different design. Annie proceeded to do this.

Some of her problems with the other children may stem from her generally bossy and intimidating behavior in various settings, both from play and routines. She is observed, for example, announcing, "I want to be the leader," as the group lines up to go to the bathroom. Getting very close to the person next to her, she shoves and pushes with her whole body out the door. She cautions a girl in the housekeeping corner, washing dishes, "Don't make a mess." She orders the other children at the table around at a Puffed Wheat Tea party, and they obey. She tosses one child out of a chair, "That's Melody's," and then she yells, "Hurry up, sister," to Melody . . . As she plays with some beads, a boy approaches her and she said, "Stop it," hitting him. He stopped. She began hitting the beads.

What is Annie's view of herself and the world?

Annie seems to be convinced, at the outset, that Might makes Right, which may not be too far from wrong in a family of 6 children. At the same time she hungers for being noticed and accepted on a more personal basis, and reaches out to others with conversational sallies and attempts to grab attention for her needs (hurts), her activities, or her accomplishments. Attention is probably a scarce commodity in her home, with a mother employed in a responsible job, and many brothers and sisters to compete with her.

At the same time, she is resourceful in her strategies, and because she is not really desperate, does learn rather quickly how to temper her demands and enjoy being "one of the gang."

> As the group lined up to go out to play, Annie came to Mrs. L. and said that Mickey had her ring. Mrs. L. asked around about whose ring it was. The other girls said it was Annie's. Annie however, made no fuss about it as she had with several pieces of equipment in the room when she was asked to share them. Mrs. L. got the ring from Mickey and gave it to Annie. They all went out to play. Upon returning to the room, Mickey was wearing the ring . . . When the children learned they were to go to the craft tables and sit down, Annie said she wanted to sit next to Mickey. She put her arm around Mickey and they walked arm in arm to the table.

How do others see her?

The Mother is very glad she is in Head Start, and is expecting a lot for her from the program. It may be that she does not see this little girl very differently from her other children, and part of Annie's irritable demands at the outset stem from the need to be a person in her own right.

The teachers do not have a great deal to say about her, either. She gets her fair share, but that isn't enough for Annie, apparently, at the beginning of the year, and she often commands or demands from them: "Come here." "See my picture." "Look what I made." Over the year, however, perhaps both Annie and the teachers moved a little, and they work out more cooperation with each other. Annie no longer evades pick up time, meantime ordering her age mates to work, and she pays more close attention to the stories and discussions.

At song time, Annie sang and smiles and was very attentive to Mrs. L. Annie volunteered a song. When they sang, "Where is Thumbkin," and had one finger to go, Annie knew which one it was on Mrs. L.'s request. She asked Annie at group time to go find 3 red trucks. Annie brought two and knew she had to bring one more to make three.

Her father participates fully in the care of the children, apparently. He came to pick her up one day:

After class a staff meeting was held, but Annie had to wait for her stepfather to pick her up. She played alone quietly and patiently with puzzles, etc. When her father arrived, he was gentle and concerned for her.

What is this child working on?

Apparently the intellectual challenges of this program are not too much for Annie, and she gave more of her attention to the problems of relating to others. Her greater experience with older children may have led her to feel that she could "get away" with things not permitted by her own age mates. At any rate, the record suggests that by spring, she can no longer intimidate her classmates as before.

What is her style?

There seems to be a fairly dogged quality about this little girl, and such words as sweet, smiling, bounding, or happy are never used. Only one time is a quiet excitement suggested, as "with eyes shining, she said she was going to the circus." A more typical comment is this notation:

Annie said, "I'm done." She wanted her painting smock off and said she could put her pictures in her cubby hold herself and went shuffling and skipping to do that.

Adjustment problems?

The family constellation is certainly a normal one, and the problems which face Annie seem to be those which face any child in the process of learning how to become a member of the human race.

What are this child's assets?

Annie was fitted with glasses this year, and the record notes, perhaps more accurately than intended:

Spring visit: The most noticeable thing about Annie is her new glasses. She plays now more purposefully and comfortably with the other children.

Her health seems to be good, and she is receiving attention to her physical needs. Her older siblings are reported to read to her, and she gets welcome attention from older children at a community center.

The stability of her family setting also appears to be a very real asset to this little girl. She seems bright enough, and has a kind of staying power which will serve her well.

What has Head Start done?

Through a program which seems to offer a variety of experiences with materials and equipment, Annie has been placed in a learning situation appropriate to her stage of development. She likes to play at housekeeping activities, enjoys creative materials, and seems to have attended well to the stories and other discussions.

The observer, in speaking of the program in general states:

> Head Start here, as I think must be true elswhere, is not a "Head" Start, but a much needed, and probably not to be provided otherwise, "Start." The children observed this year are slow in every aspect of development, many have speech problems in addition to being "slow" educationally and socially. Due to financial considerations, health exams, etc., were delayed and it was not until the third visit that much needed health work was completed, such as getting eye glasses. (Two of the four children he observed were fitted with glasses.)

What more could Head Start do?

> "There has been great progress," continues the observer, "during the year for the children in the classrooms observed, but there is still a long way to go and I am not sure the kindergarten can and will provide what is needed in the future. It seems that a summer program between the end of Head Start and beginning of kindergarten is essential."

Compared to her classmates, perhaps Annie is more ready for kindergarten than many of them. She too, however, could use a program which would emphasize to a larger extent some field trips, an expansion of experiences, which for the most part this year seem to have been centered in the church basement where the class was held.

THE CASE OF ROBERT

Birthdate: March 17, 1966

Robert comes in with jacket and hat. When his teacher greets him, he says: "I have a new toothbrush." Teacher: "You do, how wonderful; do you brush your teeth?" He nods yes and smiles.

During roll call he comes up to an aide and says, "I've got a new toothbrush." Aide says "Good."

To the observer, Robert says, "I'm four." "When were you four?" "Oh, the other day and we got puppies and I have a new toothbrush." "How wonderful," I say and he smiles.

From this glimpse into the beginning of a day for Robert in Head Start, one sees a child who finds much to share with others, whom he regards as interested in him and willing to listen. He is a large boy, nice looking, the second of four children, with a baby on the way.

The mother is in the process of obtaining a divorce. A loving grandmother who is in charge of serving lunches at the Head Start Center becomes a mainstay in his life, bridging home and school. She has a hug for every child, and seeks Robert out if he does not come to her.

Robert seems to enter zestfully into whatever is at hand. Robert sits at the table with the aide. He waits until told to eat, and really eats well, asking for a second hot dog and pouring himself more milk from a carton. While carrying his plate to the clean-up table, he spots his grandmother and waves at her. When he has scraped his plate, he goes running over to her and hugs her.

Robert works on coloring each triangle a different color. He works with concentration, tongue out the side of his mouth. While he is working, he doesn't speak to anyone.

All during the story, Robert sits quietly looking either at the pictures or the teacher's face. When it was time to go to lunch, the teacher said, "Robert, you've been such a good listener, you may go wash and be the boys' leader." Robert quickly gets up and runs to the bathroom; he washes in a hurry and returns to head the line, smiling broadly.

While all were singing, Robert participated in every song and performed every hand motion. He looked like he was enjoying himself.

He is given a good deal of reinforcement for appropriate pupil-like behavior:

"Ok, Robert, you can put away your work now, and I certainly like the way you raised your hand and waited for me."

Robert: "May I have more pudding, please?" Teacher, "Robert, I like the way you raise your hand, ask, and say please." Robert smiles at the teacher.

Robert gets his work box, which consists of matching and is able to do the work without help. He raised his hand when finished, and kept it raised. The aide said, "Oh, Robert, I like the way you always raise your hand and wait so patiently."

When teacher asked all to bring their pictures to her, Robert was the first to bring his, then asked, "Can I collect the crayons?" Teacher nodded yes.

On other occasions, it was noted that he sat quietly all during the bus ride, that he sat still during the television program, that he stays close to the teacher all during the story.

He seems to feel that there is enough of everything to go around:

Robert takes his book he has just checked out of the library to the teacher, saying, "Read this next." He sat down and listened quietly to the story she was reading, then listened as she read all of his book. He gave the story his complete concentration for at least 20 minutes.

He enjoyed playing with a toy car and pedaled it around with obvious enjoyment saying, "Beep, beep," when coming near someone. He willingly shared the car with others when someone asked for a turn. He gave them a reasonable time, then asked for it back.

Robert received two wooden sticks as his musical instrument. He had raised his hand for several other kinds of instruments, but took the sticks without saying anything and banged them together when the music began.

At snack time, he had three cups of juice and 5 or 6 crackers with meat spread. He concentrates on eating, and doesn't visit with any of the children at his table. Every time he wants something more to eat, he raises his hand and is praised for it by the teacher or the aide.

Robert's View of Himself:

Robert seems to be rather dependent upon adults for praise and is so busy conforming to their expectations, and to the work he is faithfully performing, that he has little time or energy left over for boy-to-boy interaction. It is noted that he seemed to be afraid of his father (who has now left the area) and would wet pants or his bed after visiting him or if the mother was away. He also had to adjust to the arrival of a new baby brother during this year, and was reported to be "excited, but also a little jealous." The grandmother says that she tried to give Robert more attention, but points out that she is working and has a house to keep. Even though Robert and his Mother live with the grandparents, there are now three children younger than he in the household.

Robert tends to look closely at the teacher and obtain clues from her as to her expectations:

Teacher says: "I'm thinking of one shape that has all corners alike." Robert says, "A triangle - no, no, a _____ (and he says "square" at the same time as the teacher - - watching her face closely.)

In general, he seems to be an active child, enjoys the wheeled vehicles in the playroom, and tries little tricks such as riding in the wagon on his stomach, guiding the front wheels with his hands while being pushed.

How others regard Robert:

Both adults and children seem to accept Robert without reservations. Adults seem to respond positively to Robert and find many things to praise, as previously documented. He is seen by his grandmother

as a good boy who helps, carrying out trash and helping his grandfather in the garden. When he is reprimanded even slightly, he adapts his behavior instantly.

> Robert is kneeling on his seat, facing the rear of the bus looking back. Teacher says, "Please turn around; I'm afraid you'll fall." He turns around and sits in the seat looking forward and shading his eyes from the sun with his hands. He continues to sit quietly for the rest of the bus ride to the farm.

His teacher sees him as very interested in school and participating well. She says that he can initiate activities and play well with other children; he wants to please adults; his school work is above average; his physical coordination very good; and he is emotionally more mature than most of the children.

There are few notations about Robert's interaction with peers, who may not find this well-behaved child very interesting. He runs off to join a group of children who are feeding the fish; he sits down at the table by himself during free play and takes a book. As he returns the book he passes a table of children who are working with wood, saying, "I want to pound," but they do not respond. Later it is noted that he hurried to wash his hands and rushed out shaking them (he hadn't stopped to dry them). He stands right behind the leader and waited, talking quietly with the other children while waiting to go to lunch.

What adjustment problems does he face?

His uncertainty in responding to class recitations and other direct questioning becomes more understandable when it is discovered that he has a slight hearing loss in one ear. He will have his tonsils removed after school is out, and the doctor expects his hearing to be normal after this operation, which may also reduce the incidence of swollen glands.

There is an indication that the mother will leave the grandparent's house to join her boyfriend. Since Robert showed signs of emotional upset with respect to his father, he may be faced with some difficulties in the new arrangements, and will have to leave his grandparents, of whom he is very fond.

Assets?

Robert has developed an ingratiating style, and his eagerness to please adults will stand him in good stead in his adjustment to school. He is an able child, and his work is above average in classification and number skills. In spite of the infected tonsils, his health has been good and he does not miss school very much.

What has Head Start done?

Head Start has provided him an additional source of approval and praise from adults who prize his intellectual interests and abilities. He was additionally warmed by the presence of his loving grandmother, who provided good food and plenty of it for this large and hungry boy.

What more could be done?

Perhaps Head Start could have focused on the areas of stress he is coping with. It is not shown that the teachers tried to help him risk some adult disapproval or tried to help him find more security in comfortable peer relationships. Such support might be of special value at this time when he is struggling to

accept the arrival of a new baby, and will be faced with adjustment to a new father and losing his grandparents. Granted, it is hard for a teacher to regard conforming and striving to please as other than praiseworthy, yet Robert's patterns of eagerness to be first in line or to be first finished, to clean up promptly, to wait for whatever he is given, to share with others may mask a concern that he be unacceptable for himself alone. This over socialized behavior may mask a deep-seated lack of sureness about his relationships to others, and a fear that he is not acceptable to them.

THE CASE OF BECKY

Birthdate: March 27, 1966

Becky, the youngest of 8 children, cried all of her first week in Head Start, and wanted to go home. "If I had been working," remarked her Mother, "I guess I'd have taken her out - she woke up crying the first 2 or 3 weeks."

By the time of the first observation, Becky was participating in the events of the program, but seldom talked.

Children are singing songs that have hand motions to accompany the words. She sings a bit, but does not do any of the motions except to clap her hands. She sits quietly as the others sing a song with the days of the week.

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Aide reads a story: Becky sits on the floor quietly. She looks at the pictures the aide shows and bites her nails.

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On a trip to the farm: Becky sits next to a window, with her back to the window, and watches the other children but says nothing. At the farm, Becky hangs back from the animals. She looks at the ponies and horses but makes no attempt to touch them. When the horse made a loud noise, Becky jumped and went running out of the barn. She waited until all the other children had gone to look at some horses, and squatted down and gently patted a kitten.

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Becky plays with a tricycle, hobby horse and wagon. She seems to be having a good time and smiles a great deal. She waited to have another turn on a trike, but seldom spoke to anyone. Her physical coordination is good when using the equipment

With the intellectual expectations of the program, Becky seems to be ready to move ahead.

Becky is the last child to finish her paper on coloring triangles. She takes it to the teacher, holds it out to her and smiles, but says nothing. Teacher: "Very nice, Becky; let's put a happy face on it." Becky continues smiling as she walks away.

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Her work was to put the correct number of sticks in boxes numbered through 5. She did the first 3 by herself, then raised her hand for help.

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As she works with a pounding board, she makes a definite design.

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Becky plays with several puppets, one at a time. She moves the hand puppet, and talks to it so softly she cannot be heard. (With further work with puppets, she might initiate more conversation.)

By mid-year, Becky is entering more confortably into the program, particularly when she is assigned a role to perform.

In singing the good-morning song, Becky did not go through any of the hand motions. In song, "open-shut them," she opened and closed hand and went through other small motions.

She did not raise her hand for an instrument as did most of the other children, at music time, and simply held the clacker she was offered.

However,

As she holds the music for the teacher to play the auto harp, she sings, the entire time. When another child has a turn to hold the music, Becky does not sing.

And, Lunch time: Becky was leader today. She held open the doors and seemed to enjoy the responsibility. She did a good job.

In her work times, she now has three assignments instead of two and she seems to be able to do them with little difficulty, seldom asking for help. She has no time left over for free play, after completing her three tasks.

Becky calls, "Teacher, teacher." No one paid attention to her. The girl next says, "Get my box," pointing over on the floor. Becky shook her head "no," But then went to pick up the box. She called several times for the teacher, then put up her hand and waited. When the teacher came, she told Becky what to do. Becky then went to work with no further problems.

By the end of the year, Becky seems to have found herself as a fullfledged member of the group.

As she came in, one child looked up and said, "Hi Becky," but Becky did not respond. Later, she put her coloring book away and walked up to the teacher saying, "See what I have?" The teacher bent down and took the small plastic counter from her hand and clicked it a few times. Becky said, "My Mother gave it to me." "That's fine, Becky" said the teacher. Becky responds, "Can I pass things?" The teacher smiled and nodded "yes" and Becky ran over to the aide who gave her spoons to pass.

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Becky ate her snack without talking though she listened to a couple of other children talking and smiled at several things they said. When she finished, she put her spoon in a bowl, took the bowl and began to pass it for the other children. This was done without being asked.

Becky completed her one box of work, looked at the puzzles but didn't do one. She ran to the play area, put a lei over her head, ran in and out of the play area, and then began running around and around the room, yelling, with K. chasing her. The teacher asked both girls to get buckets in the coat room. They did so, and sat on the floor with the mice cage to clean it.

Becky remained on the floor beside the mice. She took out the water bottle and shook it. She then got up and went over to the teacher and said, "K. can't do her puzzle." The two girls then sat at the table, both working with pieces of the puzzle. Becky went running off to the play area . K. went to her and whispered something. Becky ran over to the teacher and said, "K. still can't do the puzzle." The teacher said, "You help her." Becky went over to another girl and said, "Can you help K. with her puzzle? The other child helped her, and they completed the puzzle.

Later: Becky has joined two other girls in the playhouse corner. She wraps her baby up and walks around, wearing a pair of high heels and a shawl around her shoulders, as do the other girls. They talk together as they walk around the room with their babies.

How she sees herself

At the outset, she apparently sees herself as rather helpless, and approaches getting what she wants by indirect means.

How others see her

Becky lives in an old and expansive cluttered house with four older brothers and sisters still at home, and grandchildren about her own age in and out of the house. During the parent interview in the house, she leans against her Mother's knee, despite frequent admonitions to "go play." She is seen as shy and withdrawing, although she teases her older sisters until they yell at her, whereupon she cries.

Her mother sees her as spoiled ("My last baby"), but dreams of seeing her as a college graduate. Unlike the sister graduating from high school this year who wants to get married. Mrs. W. "wants Becky to be a good student. Maybe she'll be the one of my children to go to college." These aspirations may be the result of her own work this year as an aide in Head Start. She and her husband had tenth grade educations.

Becky is seen as a healthy and good child. "I don't have to spank her much."

It is possible that the Mother finds it hard to let Becky go. There is a kind of ambivalence about her commands for Becky to leave, as she smiles down at the clinging girl and pats her on the head. The family is marginal economically, as the father has been out on strike for months, and they are adjusting also to the death of a son and the problems to be faced by his pregnant widow. Becky has done well in her academic work at school, but she remains somewhat below average.

What are her assets?

Becky has strengths to assist her. She is characterized as a healthy and attractive child, and is well coordinated. She stays with a task until it is completed. She responds to being given a special duty, and executes it with care and attention, finding it pleasant to be responsible. She seems to have skills in making friends, and her overtures are well received.

She seems willing to risk reaching out to other children.

What has Head Start done for her?

Her year in Head Start has given her an arena for making great strides in accepting the privileges and restraints of social living in an educational setting. She initiates conversations, and talks a great deal more both at home and at school. She has learned a number of songs, and enters quite freely into appropriate physical motions to accompany them. She has made friends and has been selected to lead the group, or to take on specific tasks. She has been taken on field trips to enlarge her fund of information about her world.

Becky used the year in Head Start to develop relationships with both peers and adults which are more direct and self reinforcing. From the sidelines, or the role of passive participant, she moved into active exchange and sought out initiated conversation and play activities. While her coordination was noted as good, she became more active physically and covered considerably more territory. In fact, she changed from the docile waiting pupil to one who moved around the room quite freely. In display of affection, she began to show smiles, free expression of both pleasure and resistance, pokes at her friends, talks to others. Her initial tearful response to being separated from her mother became controlled, although late in the year she clung to her Mother during the morning, and cried at the departure of her Mother, after a morning's visit. At the year's end, one sees certain difficulties ahead.

THE CASE OF PERRI

Birthdate: April 20, 1966

Perri arrives later than most of the children, running into the room with his outer-coat, hat and gloves already halfway off. It looks as though he had been disrobing all the way from the school bus up to the second floor classroom. His seemingly unbridled enthusiasm for entering the classroom this morning is typical. He's wearing a heavy navy sweater, black trousers, and rubber boots - half-open, half-closed–sufficiently secured to stay on his feet, but open enough to allow snow in, as revealed by his soaked shoes.

After much fanfare of his arrival–not only running into the room but also shouting - he quickly moves from one activity to another. Apparently he is not interested enough in any one toy to remain very long in one spot. Having arrived so late, he is not sought out to enter any of the on-going activities by the other children. On previous occasions, he has been observed as the director of activities, although not always democratic in his leadership. Perri keeps things humming. The following event is characteristic:

> Perri is the second child in the room this morning, entering casually, but quick to remove his outer wear once in the room. He runs, smiling, to the rug and begins putting together plastic snowflakes. He is crouched on his knees and intently working, saying nothing until Karl reaches over and takes his plastic snowflake links. He responds with a stern, "Karl!" and retrieves his snowflakes without further fuss.
>
> At this point, Brad comes over and grabs Perri's snowflake, which has really turned out to be a gun. Perri jumps up and starts hitting Brad, after which Brad returns the gun when reprimanded by the aide. Karl asks Perri to make him a gun which is refused with a most definitive "No!", without his looking up at the source of the request. Perri continues making new guns from the plastic link-together snowflakes, eventually creating a two-barreled pistol.

His mother comes to volunteer on one occasion when the observer was present. She brings along a younger brother. Perri can leave his mother, and happily joined Brad at the task of setting the table for lunch. Perri smiles a great deal during this activity, and is purposeful in his actions. On an earlier occasion, it was noted that he made more of a pretense than actually accomplishing anything during a clean-up after the "Swish and Swallow" of juice time.

In spite of the general flurry of activity that follows him wherever he goes, he can sit quietly. He gets a book and hands it to his mother, who sat down beside him. She starts reading the story of *Ten Big Passengers* to him. He folds his hands in his lap, and smiles as his mother reads. Occasionally he points to something in the book and makes remarks to his mother–seemingly asking questions about the pictures or story. This quiet absorption in the story was also noted in his study of a bee:

> He heads straight for a table, in a chaplin-esque sort of tired slouch and lies down on the top of the table. Noticing a magnifying glass, he examines a bee briefly, then goes over to the window, gets some snow, and continues to examine it under the magnifying glass. The snow quickly melts, and Perri returns to the bee, taking it and the magnifier to the rug where he begins singing a song about bumble bees. He appears absorbed by his own discovery of the magnifier and says to himself, barely audibly, "I covered this bee up in here." (He had covered it with magnifying glass).

What is his concept of self?

This jovial little boy seems to feel quite comfortable with himself. He can enjoy the minutiae of life, as well as the broad sweep of things. There seems to be no over-riding conscience which goads him into hiding his feelings. One minute he can be the helpful, generous good-fellow, the next he goofs off at pick-up time. He is able to be himself.

How do others feel about him?

He seems to be accepted on the same terms that he exacts for himself, --a kind of easy tolerance. The other children accept his domination without rancor, even when he sometimes strikes out for no apparent reason.

He readily accepts the directions of the teacher, and becomes to her, one of "those boys" who is something of a noisy intruder, but withal, not dangerous or destructive. He works carefully, and over the year, gains in skill with the instructional aspects of the program, so he is regarded by the teacher as a credit to the program. The teacher has described Perri as "very outgoing, affectionate, intelligent, and aware of how others, including the teacher feel about him--he's very sensitive,"

His mother is almost wholly non-assuming or aggressive in her contacts with the children in Head Start, as she works in a volunteer capacity. She is not particularly verbal with adults or children, and spends most of her time with the younger child she has brought along, although she responds to the requests of other children. Judging from this behavior, one might believe that she is particularly good with the young, dependent child, and gave to Perri what he needed as an infant and toddler. Now that he is more independent, she can let him go.

What is Perri working on?

Perri is interested in new toys and activities, and seems "ripe" for the intellectual stimulation of the program. He has fine dexterity and control of his body, and can apparently construct things better than other boys of his age. Perri also is learning to accept authority other than his mother. He responds to reprimands with little visible emotionality, but does accede to the requests made. As time goes on, it is noted that he frequently attempts to be in close physical proximity to the teacher, often hugging her or sitting on her lap. While this behavior may not be accepted as he moves on to the next year of school, at this time he is blending the nurturant and authority aspects of the role of "teacher" into a workable combination.

What is his style?

He approaches other children with a "threat", often giving way to laughter. It seems to be a kind of bluff, utilized perhaps to test people or to feel the situation out. Instant anger almost always gives way to laughs or broad smiles. He is quick to defend himself against abuse by other children, and is quite independent in his choice of play materials, in self-care, and accepting the outcome of his decisions.

What adjustment problems does he face?

For the most part, he seems to be a child of promise in the expectations he will face at school. It is quite possible that the school will, in the future, be one of the more stabilizing forces in his life, so he will

be vulnerable to what transpires there. This is suggested by the fact that he was placed in a foster home by the time of the spring visit. His transition to the home was reported to be "satisfactory." The placement may have been necessitated by the arrival of a new baby in the home, giving his mother, who is supported by Aid to Families of Dependent Children, 8 children to look after, the oldest being 13 years.

What are his assets?

This energetic little boy seems to manage his affairs in a very successful manner. He has a great deal of fun out of life, and manages to ride "high" without inciting others to anger or recrimination. His health is apparently very good. He can take what comes, and somehow turn it to his advantage.

What has Head Start done?

Throughout the entire school year, Perri has demonstrated readiness to adapt and use the Head Start program on a number of levels. In terms of task oriented behavior, Perri has continued to demonstrate skills in organizing as well as directing classroom activities and games. All of the children seem to enjoy his leadership, and continually seek him out in cooperative play situations. Although having difficulty earlier in the year with tasks requiring sustained attention, Perri is now able to complete most work activities and initiate new ones. He also takes direction well from the teacher.

In interpersonal relationships, Perri has developed more control in acting out behavior. Once quick to anger and strike out at both the teacher and other children, Perri now seems able to direct his anger and/or hostility into work tasks. Limits imposed by the teacher are no longer viewed as punishment by him.

His most apparent gains have been in controlling and directing energy into meaningful tasks, improving relationships with peers, and in developing affectional ties with significant others.

What more could be done?

The record does not suggest any areas which would call for modification of the program. Perri's future will depend to a large extent on the ability of the mother to keep her family intact.

THE CASE OF CINDY

Birthdate: 1-23-67

Cindy is a hand-holder, as the Head Start year begins. Often the notation appears, "in her free hand"; it almost seems as if she is functioning as a single handed child:

> The class was walking to the park a couple of blocks away (there is no playground at the Center). Cindy was holding her partner's hand, as were many of the children who had been paired off for the walk. In her free hand, she held something that resembled a pine cone; when the observer asks her about it, the reply is not intelligible.
>
> Cindy walked ahead of her partner and came back holding a boy's hand; she then walked between them, holding hands with both. "Hup 2-3-4," she called out, stamping her feet.
>
> Cindy was engaged in some mild rough-housing with another girl, who was holding the back of her skirt. Cindy turned and ran around the girl and playfully started to spank her. She then ran ahead and took the hands of two teachers, walking between them. When one let go for a moment, Cindy held her hand poised in the air until she got it back.
>
> "Let's have a race," says the teacher. "Go," says Cindy, after a moment. She ran, holding a teacher's hand.
>
> The other children were on and around a platform that serves as a stage. Cindy danced on the stage, often holding the teacher's hand.
>
> When it was time to leave, Cindy approached the teacher; noticing that both her hands were already being held, she immediately ran over to the observer (on her first day) took her hand, and sang, "I got a lady."

While it must be noted that apparently hand-holding is the thing to do in this class, since Cindy is often in competition with other children for the hand of an adult, she seems to use this appendage as an island of safety from which she can operate, making darting forays to make contact with other children. By mid-year, her need to hold an adult's hand is being supplanted by frequent physical contact with her agemates, sometimes playfully teasing, sometimes with hurtful intent. This tendency to use physical mode of interaction with others seems to be characteristic to the end of the record.

> She started rough-housing with the boy; they were hitting each other, both smiling. Cindy hit him quite hard on the hand, then they ran around the room, Cindy just ahead of him. When they got to the doll corner, Miss G. grabbed her hand and pulled her over.

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> Cindy approaches the observer as she sits on a step, patted her head, and asked, "What 'cha writing'?"

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A girl was leaning over the cradles. Cindy walked over, touched the girl's head, patted it (the child did not look up), then walked away. She sat down in a rocking chair for a minute, got up, hugged the other girl (who shook herself free). Another child came over. Cindy pulled this child into her lap and rocked her for a couple of minutes. The other child got up and left; Cindy had an annoyed expression on her face.

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Cindy was still in the housekeeping corner. She hit another child quite hard in the face. The child cried, looked at the teacher, and walked toward her, crying. Cindy stayed behind. The teacher talked to both girls, suggesting that they go over to the punching bag in the corner. Cindy stood with her finger in her mouth. The teacher led the children across the room toward the punching bag; Cindy lagged behind as if reluctant to go. When the teacher took her hand off Cindy's shoulder, she ran back to the housekeeping corner.

At the outset, some of this dependence upon physical means of expression may have been related to her unintelligible speech. As time goes on, the speech improves, but communication does not change. The major change seems to be in the range of her expression. Initially, her use of the adult seems to have been as a security base, and her messages to children were mildly hostile or taunting. By spring, she moves from open aggression to affectionate displays, albeit the feelings are not always mutual.

There is evidence in the record that Cindy's home experiences had laid the foundation for this style of relating to others. She has few playmates, and only one sibling, a child of 13. The mother used a high chair for meals until a few months ago, often fed her and still does, to get her to eat. Occasionally when the Mother has breakfast at school with the children (she works at night) she will feed Cindy. Of her daughter's relationship to her Father, the mother said it was "too close" by which she meant, in part, that her Father treats Cindy "like a baby," curling her up in his lap like a 3-month-old. He used to talk baby-talk to her, and the Mother thinks this may have been partly the cause of her speech problem. However, the Mother reports that Cindy had walked at 8½ months, and the doctor had told her that her speech problem was due to her having walked at such an early age.

How does Cindy see herself?

At the outset, Cindy apparently felt herself to be quite incapable of controlling events and depended upon adults to run interference for her. Since she really isn't incompetent, this pose doesn't suit her exactly either, and she tends to over-react when she fancies her rights are being ignored. This led her to scream when another child would try to enter the doll corner, to taunt or tease the others, and to insist on equal rights with her older sister. The mother gets her a tablet, just like the sister's to do her "homework". She is reported to be fiercely jealous whenever the older girl gets something she doesn't. By spring, Cindy seems to be less unsure of her own powers. She takes things into her own hands, and is probably, in some ways, less amenable to suggestion from the teachers. Progress comes at a price.

How do others see and respond to her?

The father wants to have a baby girl. This seems so clear that one wonders if this child is his, while the older girl may not be. The Mother seems to have a need to achieve her own dreams through her daughter, too. She hopes she'll become a home economics teacher, as she herself wanted to be until she

had to drop out of college after 2½ years to care for an invalid mother. (Later she took training to become a practical nurse, and works in a responsible job in an obstetrics unit.) It appears that neither of her parents see Cindy as she really is.

The other children were baffled by her at first. When she came to Head Start she talked baby-talk, spent a lot of time in the doll corner, and never hit back when she was hit. A couple of children asked, "What's wrong with that girl?" By spring, she seems to have worked out a modus operandi with the others, but her contacts with them are brief and not always smooth:

> Just then a boy walked up, holding a ball: "Wanna play ball?" Cindy nodded her head. At that moment a teacher came up with 2 dolls, handed them to her; Cindy, who took them without a word, threw them across the housekeeping area into the doll cradles. (It may be that the teachers fail to see Cindy as she really is. also.)

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> A child was rocking on a piece of play equipment; Cindy went over and climbed into the rocking boat and they rocked together for awhile. Some spontaneous comments were called out to no one in particular. Cindy returned to the housekeeping corner, pulled out a stool, and sat quietly on it for a few minutes.

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> The group was lunching at a nearby restaurant. Cindy hopped up several times. She was told to sit down and did so. Once she went to a boy and kissed him on the cheek; he did not respond. She went up to a girl and kissed her on the cheek; the girl laughed and wiped her cheek. Cindy did it again, 2 or 3 times.

It seems that Cindy's behavior is not always comfortable to the other children. She often goes a little too far, or is too unpredictable.

There was considerable turn-over in the teaching staff during the year, and only one teacher remained constant. She cites the changes in Cindy as largely interpersonal, noting that she fights to defend herself instead of running away and crying as she used to do. She sometimes hits other children for "no reason." She feels that Cindy has found it difficult to accept the changes in staff, and hasn't forgotten the male teacher who left late in the fall, or the Mrs. T. who left in the winter.

What is this child working on?

Clearly, she is preoccupied in working on personal relationships. This may explain also the pulling power of the doll corner where she mothers her dolls, bakes, plays little fantasies of Happy Birthday cakes, and can hide from others as needed. She has also shown real growth in ability to talk more clearly and more frequently. Her motor skills have always been up to average, and she is characterized as running easily and in a relaxed fashion. She climbs (on a statue in the park) and while she does not feed herself neatly, this may be partly the result of lack of practice. By spring she could do more things for herself such as putting on her own jacket.

What is her style?

Cindy is one of those baffling female creatures who can be all sweetness and cuddles, and then turn around and hit you. In her case, it seems to be more immaturity than "bitchiness" but it seems that there is a bit of the latter there too. She demands that her Mother make a big fuss over her paintings or art work at school, yet there is no indication that she can return concern for others in any genuine fashion, however, except as they serve her needs. She seems to be truly attached to teachers who leave. Reportedly, she goes "crazy" when the former male teacher telephones, and insists on talking to him. When he visited, she touched and felt him all over, on the face and lips. She has said several times that she misses him.

What adjustment problems does she face?

So far, this little girl does not seem to show much intellectual curiosity, or staying power in school-type tasks. While either the record or the school program may be deficient in emphasis on these aspects, there is no mention whatsoever of her handling books, working puzzles, attempting to construct anything, or discuss ideas other than her immediate, and personal needs.

During a check-up, the Hearing Clinic reported her hearing to be OK, but may refer her for speech therapy.

What are this child's assets?

Cindy lives in an intact home, with parents who are obviously devoted to her, and who can provide a stable setting. Her mother seems to be able to give up infantilizing this child, as Cindy moves to take over some self-care and shows independence in her behavior. The mother values her Head Start experience, and cherishes goals for her daughter which will require substantial education. Cindy seems to learn from experience, and has used this year to good advantage. There is no reason to question her intelligence, but as yet she has not been motivated to get into activities considered to have a high intellectual content.

What has Head Start done?

The Head Start setting has provided an arena for this child's growth. It is impossible to tell how much more might have been accomplished had the staff remained constant throughout the year. As it is Cindy's almost too ready acceptance of adults kept her moving along, with the changes. The presence of other children, expectations in terms of self-care, provision of play materials, and healthful regime were all good for her. Since the mother works at night, there is real question of how much of stimulation she could provide for this little girl herself, at home, during the day.

What more could have been done?

The relatively low emphasis on concept development and intellectual activities already noted in this program may be crucial for Cindy, who seems to have needed a good deal of help in this area, as well as in personal-social skills. The teachers seemed very casual about talking with her, and she was not given any specific help in using language, learning new words, hearing stories or records, or other extensions of language development.